INSIDE: The collapse in Lebanon/Canada at the Olympics

Maclean's

FEBRUARY 20, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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The World After Andropov



The power shift in Fortress Russia

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Maclean's

FEBRUARY 20, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 08



Snowed under in Sarajevo

The snow flew at the Winter Games, postponing ski races, delaying speed skating and turning the focus to the events—and deals—indoors —*Page 40*



Bourassa—in from the cold

Robert Bourassa insists he has not changed greatly since losing power in 1976. But he is now drawing friendly crowds and could be Quebec's premier again —*Page 14*

COVER

The world after Andropov

Soviet President Yuri Andropov's tenure at the helm of his troubled but mighty nation was one of the shortest of any leader since the October Revolution. In the space of only 15 months, Andropov issued defiant threats to the West and attempted to undertake an ambitious domestic campaign against waste, official corruption and political favoritism. But time ran out —*Page 20*



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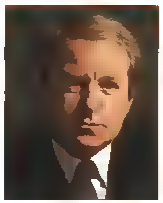
The collapse of a nation

Chaos in the streets of Beirut, the pullback of multinational peacekeeping forces and the isolation of President Amin Gemayel point to Lebanon's near collapse —*Page 33*



'A nice flying machine'

Two astronauts' spectacular flights with jet-powered back packs came as a welcome relief at the end of a problem-plagued space shuttle mission —*Page 46*



A safer kind of war

The long-expected death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov appears, ironically, to have given new life to Pierre Trudeau's commendable peace initiative. The Prime Minister this week planned to discuss arms reduction and related issues with Soviet officials while attending Andropov's funeral. Unfortunately, Trudeau's efforts seem to be as doomed to failure now as they were when he launched his campaign. The reason: the central thrust of his mission is to achieve a mutual reduction of nuclear weapons by the two superpowers—using the persuasive power of logic alone.

International affairs are notoriously immune to warnings that are unsupported either by force or by the introduction of alternative security arrangements. But there is another strategy that the West should pursue in order to begin safely dismantling some of its most lethal nuclear weapons.

That strategy is based on a new type of long-range weapon now in the infant stages of development. They are known as "deep strike" missiles. They carry only nonnuclear explosives and they have guidance systems that are so precise they could be directed from Western Europe onto a single tank or troop formation in the East. They have potentially enormous—but not radioactive—destructive power.

They would also provide the United States and its NATO allies with a capacity they now dangerously lack. Because the West has relied in the postwar era primarily on nuclear weapons for its defence—rather than pursuing the same two-track policy of the Soviets in building up both conventional and nuclear forces—it would face a doomsday decision in the event of a concerted attack from the East. NATO could likely repel a first wave of attackers with conventional forces. But to stop a second, third or fourth assault, it would have to rely on a devastating nuclear response, as *The Economist* magazine recently pointed out.

By developing the new technology, the United States could ensure that attacks by the far more numerous Warsaw Pact forces could probably be turned back without risking an immediate holocaust. But the new weapons are expensive—far more so than the nuclear arms they would replace. At the same time, the United States is far ahead of Europe in developing the weapons, and the Europeans fear that if they give their go-ahead to deployment they will have to pay a great deal for their own defence, while they import rather than develop a new technology.

But the discussion of the new technology has so far been largely confined to a tiny circle of policymakers. It is an issue that Trudeau might now profitably make much more public.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's February 20, 1984

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Kevin Doyle

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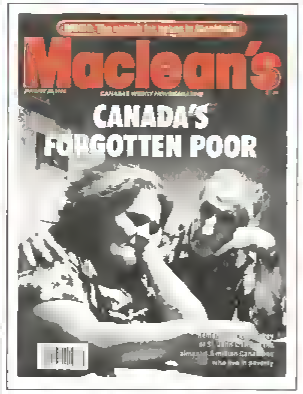
Rich vs. poor

I am greatly disappointed and somewhat angry that your article on poverty, *Canada's forgotten poor* (Cover, Jan 30), simply described the problem without analysing it. Why, in this of all countries, does poverty have to exist? Nowhere does the article address the question or even mention it. It does not take a PhD in economics to understand that poverty and unemployment are the result of deliberate policies formulated by government and big business. Our capitalist system depends on having a ready supply of cheap labor; therefore, in the name of fighting inflation, millions are reduced to unemployment and welfare. Inflation hurts big business and investors more than anyone else, yet the poor are victimized so the rich can go on lining their pockets. Anyone who thinks it is ethically more correct to address inflation (a financial problem) than poverty (a moral problem) has put the cart before the horse. Our economy must be our reward; we have to demystify our economy and stop worshipping the almighty dollar.

—DOMINIC BOYD,
Halifax

We want to commend *Maclean's* for its cover story on *Canada's forgotten poor*. As direct providers of social services to families, we are only too aware of the increasing numbers of people living in poverty. Of particular concern to us is the effect of poverty on the stability and health of the family. As is so clearly demonstrated in your article, the emotional pain and suffering concomitant with living in poverty and the resulting stress on the family unit are often extreme. While social agencies are able to provide some support to people living in poverty, it is clear to us that income security is a major factor related to the health and stability of family life in Canada. Thank you for giving the issue of poverty and its effects on our fellow countrymen such high visibility.

—JUDY SUTCLIFF,
Chairman,
Social Action Committee,
Family Service Association
of Metropolitan Toronto,
Toronto



Canada's poor increasing numbers

My sympathy goes out to all Canadians who are out of work and have to cope with the bare essentials for their families. But your story *Canada's forgotten poor* leaves me wondering. When you show the "poor" with two ashtrays full of cigarette butts on the table, it is difficult to feel badly for them because they are on welfare. Everyone is well aware of the cost of cigarettes these days. A month's supply would put a lot of food on the table.

—OLIVE R. PEIGL,
Ottawa

Not that significant

I hesitate to pit my layman's math skills against those of financial analyst Dian Cohen, but I wish she would explain the following: if Canada's unemployment rate has fallen from 12.6 per cent to 11.1 per cent (*Paying the penalty for weakness*, Column, Jan. 30) and the U.S. rate has fallen from 10.6 per cent to "at least two percentage points lower than the Canadian rate," then the U.S. rate is approximately 9.1 per cent, which means that each country's rate has dropped 1.5 per cent. Why then has Canadian unemployment remained "almost unchanged" while the U.S. rate "is down significantly?"

—SANDRA KALEF,
Calgary

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PASSAGES

DIED: Soviet Premier **Yuri Andropov**, 69, of kidney and heart failure in Moscow (page 20).

APPOINTED: Canadian National Railways Chairman **Jack Horner**, 56, the former Conservative MP who crossed over to the Liberals and a cabinet post in 1977, to a four-year term as administrator of the Prairie Grain Transportation Agency, at a salary of $90,000 to $100,000, effective March 1. The cabinet can dismiss Horner at will, and his political and ideological about-faces during the controversial Crowsnest Pass freight rate debate may place his future with the grain agency in jeopardy if the Conservatives win the next election.

DIED: James Sinclair, 75, the Liberal fisheries minister from 1952 to 1957 and the father of Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau**'s estranged wife, **Margaret**, following two strokes, in Vancouver. His 18-year political career ended with the 1958 Conservative sweep.

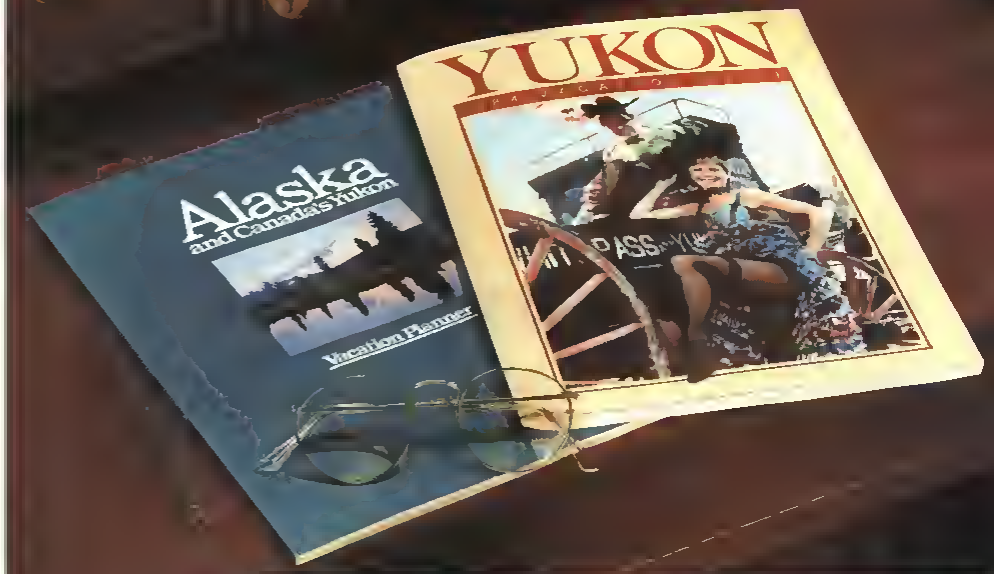
DIED: Allister Grosart, 77, a former senator credited with masterminding Conservative Prime Minister **John Diefenbaker**'s 1950s political victories, after suffering a heart attack at the wheel of a car on Jan. 16, in Toronto.

DIED: W. Earl Rowe, 89, lieutenant-governor of Ontario from 1963 to 1968, of a stroke, near Toronto. Rowe, a Progressive Conservative and former provincial Tory leader, entered politics in 1923 and worked in both the provincial and federal governments. He was defeated only once at the polls, in 1937, when he opposed Liberal **Mitchell Hepburn** for the Ontario premiership.

DIED. Benedict Greene, 96, art connoisseur and former owner-publisher of *Who's Who in Canada*, in Toronto. He became widely known in 1973 when he published the best-selling book *Love Letters to Baruch* (Hebrew for Benedict), a poignant chronicle of his courtship and marriage written by his wife, who had died earlier in the year. She was Roman Catholic journalist and author **Margaret Isobel Lawrence**.

DIED: Gen. Gholam Ali Oveissi (the so-called "butcher of Tehran"), 65, and his brother, **Gholam Hoseln Oveissi**, from gunshot wounds to the head, by a gunman allegedly hired by the Gihad Islamic, in Paris. Oveissi, martial law administrator in Tehran in 1978 during the rebellion against Shah **Mohammed Reza Pahlevi**, was blamed for the deaths of thousands and in 1963 reputedly ordered the massacre of thousands of pro-**Khomeini** demonstrators.

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Private-profit medicine

In your article on Hawkesbury and District General Hospital (*The Hawkesbury takeover*, Canada, Jan 23) you ignore one fundamental question: who is going to be in charge of our health care system? The article failed to ask if savings are made on health care, where should they go? Back into our hospitals or down to California in the form of profits? Private-profit medicine is one of the fastest-growing fields in the United States. It is extremely profitable. Your article did your readers a disservice when it failed to point out that nobody except shareholders benefits when corporations are given a stake in illness, not health. Independent studies of the U.S. hospital system confirm that profit-motivated hospitals are *more* expensive than nonprofit ones. Why? Because they have to skim off the cream to stay in business. A factual correction begs to be made in your article, you attribute the elimination of the hospital's deficit solely to American Medical International (Canada) Ltd. The reality is different: a special grant of $345,000 was made to the hospital by the Ontario government, staff was reduced by attrition, and more patients came from Quebec, resulting in an additional payment to the hospital in 1983 of $200,000 from the Quebec government.

—BOB RAE,
Leader,
Ontario New Democratic Party,
Toronto

Health care for Einsteins

Regarding Dr. Leon Richard's preferential allocation of health care to "those who will return to the work force, those who hold key positions in business or industry", to name a very few, Martin Luther King was just a minister, Golda Meir was just a schoolteacher, Albert Einstein was just an academic flop, Plato and Socrates were just logicians and philosophers. What if Richard's priority system of giving health care had been applied to any of the above before they had "made it" in our consciousness?

—BRENDA BRADLEY,
Ottawa

Liberty and the Liberals

Most of the squabbling about the new Canada Health Act has focused on user fees and extra-billing. However, the more fundamental and more important aspect of freedom of choice has been largely ignored. In a pamphlet published by the Liberal government in support of medicare, it states that "Freedom of choice is the cornerstone of medicare." One needs only to ask two questions to see that this declaration is a myth. First, will we Canadians be free to choose not to purchase medical insur-

Safety at home, at school, at play

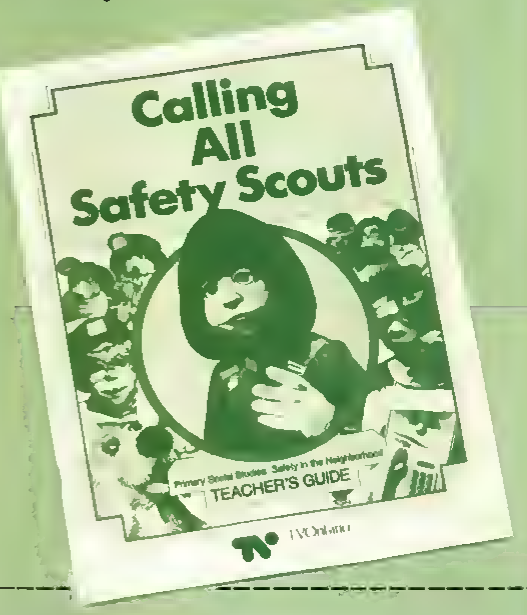
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ance? The answer is no. Second, will we Canadians be free to choose to purchase medical insurance from a corporation in the private sector rather than from the federal government? The answer is again no. It turns out that the Liberal government interprets freedom of choice to mean that we are free to choose so long as we choose as we are told. As a libertarian, I find this to be totally unacceptable.

—BRUCE VAUGHAN,
Edmonton

A taxpayer's objection

As a Canadian taxpayer, I object to the federal government spending $5 million per year to finance the social activities of the representative of a foreign monarch (*The First Lady*, Cover, Jan. 9).

—KEITH W. SHANAHAN,
Milton, Ont.

The pro-life crusade

Perhaps it is understandable, but it is in no way acceptable, that your article *The pro-life boycott* (Press, Jan. 30) should exhibit such a strong bias in favor of *Homemaker's* magazine. Phrases such as "the threat is to the very principles of freedom of the press" and "damage ... of journalistic self-censorship" lead one to think that the freedom of the press is in some way superior to that of the public. Regardless of one's views on abortion, this boycott must be seen as an obvious triumph for the public in making its voice heard above the powerful and all-pervasive influence of both the advertising and journalistic media. It must be remembered that *Homemaker's* is distributed free to our homes—many of us could perhaps do without the burden. Campaign Life has succeeded in hitting the media where it hurts. May other action groups be encouraged by this heartwarming precedent!

—LOUISE SINCLAIR,
Toronto

Out of context

I have just read your article entitled *Why Johnny can read* (Education, Nov. 28) and find that it has taken my words out context. The story gives the impression that every faculty at the University of Manitoba has a policy of limited enrolment. That is not true. At the present time the faculties of arts, science, human ecology and agriculture are "open." I said that the large faculties of arts and science do *not* have enrolment limitations at this time.

—GLEN A. JONES
Winnipeg

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A celebration of love

Isaac Bashevis Singer is considered the world's greatest Yiddish writer. His stories are filled with a wry eroticism that exalts the pleasures of the flesh and of the soul at the same time. The recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1978, Singer, 79, remains active, writing and teaching at the University of Miami during the winter and spending the rest of the year in New York City. A prolific writer, he published his latest book, The Penitent, *last year. His dozens of short stories and novels, most notably* The Manor, The Family Moskat *and* Shosha, *and his autobiography,* Lost in America, *are translated throughout the world. Barbra Streisand adopted one of his short stories,* Yentl, the Yeshiva Boy, *for her successful musical* Yentl. *Maclean's correspondent Charles Greenfield spoke with Singer in his Miami Beach apartment.*



Singer. 'It is not a sin to write about sex'

Maclean's: *What are you now working on?*

Singer: In the past year I have written a dozen short stories. I have not yet translated them into English—it will take some time before they appear. Now I am thinking about a larger story, either a novel or a novella. I do not think I am going to go back to the format of large novels. They take years.

Maclean's: *In how many languages have your works appeared?*

Singer: In at least 20, maybe more—Korean, Japanese and Chinese, to name a few. Of course, the Chinese translate and they do not pay the author a penny. I was told people read me in Vietnam. I am translated into many languages behind the Iron Curtain but not in Russia because they consider me, and they are right, against Bolshevism, against communism. I do not believe that a number of people who sit in some capital can really manage the economy of any country. Also, if they only tried to manage the economy I would not say a word, but they also try to manage your beliefs.

Maclean's: *How do you feel about the transformation of your short story* Yentl, the Yeshiva Boy *into Barbra Streisand's musical?*

Singer: It is far from being a masterpiece. But it is a movie that makes money, and the people who made it will make a lot. That is all I can say. They adapted it, changed it and finally made mincemeat of it.

Maclean's: *Would it be an exaggeration to say that you write in the tradition of the 19th century?*

Singer: I read Tolstoy, Gogol and Dostoevsky when I was very young. I admired them and I felt that they tried to be clear and not obscure. They communicated, and I learned a lot from them. I will tell you Tolstoy would not have admired James Joyce. Joyce might have admired Tolstoy. Tolstoy would have said that the man does not know how to write and, from Tolstoy's point of view, he would have been right. Joyce is obscure. He plays around with style and he uses words from other languages. He tries his best to look original; Tolstoy did not try to be original, it was built in. My desire is to be clear and to communicate with the reader. I will never sacrifice this to appear original. I do not care what the critics will say. I have to have a story with a beginning, a middle and an end. The dialogue must be as clear as possible. If that is a 19th-century writer, then I am very proud to be one.

Maclean's: *Your characters are pious and sensual. Why do those qualities intrigue you?*

Singer: I believe that literature is basically a love story. Of course, literature



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has many stories about war and politics, but it is really a description of variations of being in love—love between men and women. Because of this, I do not think that there is any way of getting out of sex and love. You cannot write today about love without sex because the reader knows that if two people love each other they will go to bed together. The idea that writing about sex is a sin is not only old-fashioned but silly. I do not always write about sex, but if there is a necessity to talk about sex I do not run away from it.

Maclean's: *Are you religious?*

Singer. I am religious in the sense that I believe in God. I do not believe that the cosmos or the universe has arisen by accident, that some atoms or molecules met by accident and became Einsteins, Newtons and Tolstoys. I am inclined to believe that there is a plan to creation and that there were powers who knew what they were doing when they created man and woman and saw that they should fit and multiply. But when it comes to revelation, I am very skeptical. To believe in revelation means to believe in people, to believe that what anyone says is true. And I know that people are not all truth—some of them lie and do not know it themselves. The idea that blind evolution created everything does not appeal to me. I believe that everything was born through consciousness and that there was a plan of God in nature.

Maclean's: *Did God intend that there be a purpose to each person's life?*

Singer. We would like to feel that the Almighty has made a purpose, but there is no evidence to prove that purpose exists. But even if the Almighty made us to be happy, we do our best to be unhappy. The Almighty, nature, the Absolute has a purpose. And we do not know what that purpose is. But we ourselves have little purposes. When I sit down to write, I want to write so that people can read it and I can sell it. When you get married, you want a wife and children. We imagine that just as we have little purposes, the Almighty has big purposes.

Maclean's: *Does old age concern you?*

Singer. Death and decay are matters of concern for all writers. Love of life is the real attribute for artists. They hate decay, death and destruction. Jews have always hated death and destruction. Of course, if you attack the Jews now they will defend themselves. But by nature destruction is an abomination for them.

Maclean's: *In 1978 you won the Nobel Prize for literature. Did you regret that success and recognition took so long?*

Singer. No, there was never any reason to be bitter. Let us say that I had written a story that was not published or accepted; the important thing was that I wrote the story.



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The assassinated Quintana: eye-for-an-eye tactics that led to a cycle of death and violence

DATELINE: SPAIN

The 'dirty war' spreads

By David Baird

As Lt.-Gen. Guillermo Quintana Lacaci walked home after Sunday mass at Cristo Rey church in Madrid on Jan. 29, two young men gunned him down at point-blank range, walked calmly to a waiting car and sped away. The 67-year-old officer died in a pool of blood as his wounded wife, Maria, desperately cried "Police! Police!" The Basque separatist organization, Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Liberty, or ETA) claimed responsibility for the murder. Since 1977 police have attributed more than 500 assassinations, mostly of policemen and Spanish state security officers, to ETA terrorists (etarras). Indeed, the organization has proved to be the most dangerous challenge to Spain's stability since the country started making the transition to a democracy after the death of Gen. Francisco Franco in 1975. Until recently police have had little success in fighting the group's tactics. But now, after a series of countermeasures, security officials claim that the ETA is finally on the defensive.

Last month France responded to persistent Spanish demands for a crackdown against the estimated 400 ETA members using southwest France as a sanctuary. French authorities acted after a mysterious death squad, known as GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion—Antiterrorist Liberation Groups), began waging a private war against the ETA. French police believe that GAL was responsible for the shooting of two ETA members last December and the disappearance of two others in the same month. The existence of the organization was confirmed last month when GAL released a kidnapping victim—a Spaniard living in the south of France who was suspected of being associated with the ETA—after holding him for 10 days. In a communiqué tucked into the victim's pocket GAL attacked the French government for offering sanctuary to ETA terrorists. "Every assassination by the terrorists will have its reply," the group warned.

Spain has long been bitter about France's refusal to extradite suspected terrorists hiding among the more than 700 Basques who have sought refuge across the border. The French adopted a hands-off policy toward the exiles, fearing that Basque terrorism might spill over into their own country if police took any action. But GAL's new eye-for-an-eye campaign brought demands by local French politicians for firm government action. Since beginning their move against the ETA one month ago, French authorities have deported six etarras to Panama and demanded that at least 30 others move to northern France. According to Spanish police, until now ETA members have lived comfortably in France, drawing as much as $2,000 a month from the group's funds. The financing comes largely from kidnap ransoms, bank robberies and cash extortions from Basque businessmen in Spain. In the past 18 months alone, police estimate that the ETA has been responsible for 140 bank holdups in Spain.

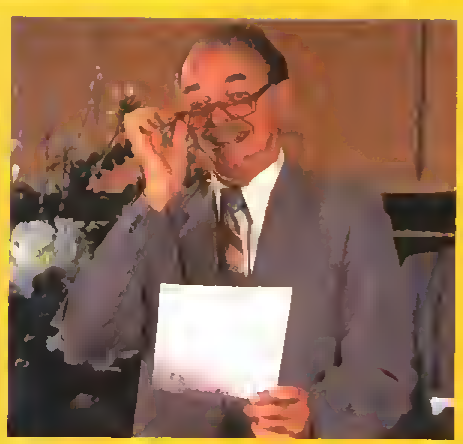
The driving force behind the *guerra sucia*, or dirty war, launched by GAL, remains a mystery. According to Xavier Arzallus, president of the Nationalist Party which forms the autonomous government in the northern Basque region (population 2.2 million), GAL has direct links to members of the Socialist government of Premier Felipe González in Madrid. In its Jan. 2 issue, Spain's largest weekly newsmagazine, *Cambio*, supported that theory, claiming that ex-policemen, aided by members of military intelligence, run the organization. Popular opinion holds that members of the Marseilles Mafia, connected with French right-wing extremists, are carrying out the murders of ETA terrorists. Madrid police officials will only speculate that some Basque businessmen, weary of ETA demands for "revolutionary taxes," may have hired French professional killers.

In response to GAL's actions, ETA sympathizers in Spain's four Basque provinces have conducted a series of raids on Socialist party headquarters. In the town of Renteria, an ETA stronghold on the Spanish-French border, 30 hooded thugs armed with clubs and iron bars smashed up the local Socialist party offices, then chased Socialist Mayor José Maria Gurrutxaga through the streets and beat him up. The latest violence is likely to exacerbate an already tense atmosphere as Basques prepare to vote in regional elections scheduled for Feb. 26.

Despite Spanish claims of a limited victory over the ETA, there is as yet no end in sight to the cycle of violence. It will take more than the threat of death squads to quench Basque fanaticism. "It is as if you were mounted on a merry-go-round which goes ever faster," said Luis Emeldi Michelena, a disaffected ETA activist who left the group recently. "In the end you only distinguish the head of the horse you are riding and you do not see what is going on around you nor what the others are thinking." For the present, GAL's tactics only appear to add impetus to that crazy merry-go-round.

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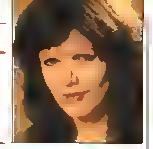
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COLUMN

A question of press credibility



By Barbara Amiel

Ever since the Reagan administration kept the press away from the initial stages of the Grenada mission last November, there has been much wailing and gnashing of typewriter keys by members of the fourth estate.

The U.S. networks were apoplectic. NBC's John Chancellor summed up the situation as one in which "the American government is doing whatever it wants to, without any representative of the American public watching what it is doing."

And, finally, last month *Maclean's* got into the act with a column by *Newsday* writer Fred Bruning which castigated the U.S. government for its treatment of the press during its Grenada activities and summed up the result with the catchy phrase, "When the United States invaded Grenada, history was poured into moulds and marketed like chocolate kisses."

Nifty prose, loose thinking

The exclusion of the press from Grenada may not have been wise in a political sense. But it was most assuredly deserved. To understand what has happened in the media, Bruning's column gives us the most explicit blueprint of the muddled thinking of the media mind.

As far as I can tell, Bruning's piece makes two major points. First, that "the business of journalism is to comfort the afflicted and to afflict the comfortable." His second point is really a lamentation that the American public is not sufficiently educated or civic-minded to see that bad news is often good for a country. People, laments Bruning, prefer a silver lining to the clouds that are the press's duty to report.

Well, on the surface I can't quarrel with Bruning on either point. It is without question the duty of journalism to point the finger at the shadows in civic life. It is the duty of the press to keep our institutions, our government, our business leaders—and our media and intellectuals—on their toes. But what, and this is the key question, what if the media is in the grip of a fashion in which the press confuses the afflicted with the comfortable? What if it confuses the victim with the enemy? What if it is so caught up in trends of the time that it confuses the clouds with the silver lining? What if it misidentifies issues and goes with some consistency against the perceptions and common sense of a majority of people in the country?

Under those circumstances, the question clearly is whether the people are under some kind of duty to assume that the press must be right. Is Bruning then arguing that it is the duty of citizens to surrender their own judgment if it does not coincide with that of the press? Are citizens precluded from considering whether the news they dislike is merely bad or whether it is false?

In a 1982 speech the U.S. journalist Tom Wolfe spoke of a large symposium he attended in 1974. The audience was filled with American university students who were being told by a variety of speakers that the country in which they lived was run by 60 families, controlled by 180 corporations and headed for destruction due to the rape of the upper atmosphere by aerosol can users. Finally, a student spoke up and said that he knew all of this—his professors had been telling him much the same thing for four years, that "the end is near, everything is going down the chute, there is not much to hope for. But in all honesty I must tell you that the biggest problem we have run into here at the university is finding a parking place near the campus."

'Americans started to look at the press as one that was gratuitously opposed to their hopes, values and traditions'

The various speakers on the platform all took this as a typical sign of the middle-class mind confronting middle-class institutions. The student listened to that explanation and nodded. He had heard that, too. But he was confused. "I know that," he said. "What I want to know is, how old are you usually when it all hits you?"

The student, like the American public for the past 20 years, had been told by the media that he was living in the worst of all worlds—a racist, inequitable, selfish, soul-destroying America—in which everything was going wrong. And yet, as far as he could see, he seemed to be living in the best of all worlds around and could not understand what was going on.

This is the origin of the problem. For 20 years the mainstream press has spewed out the message that Western society was rotten. And the American people listened and looked around and found that that message did not coincide with either their internal or external feelings about their homeland. Understandably, they started not to believe the press. Furthermore, they started looking at the press as one that was gratuitously opposed to their hopes, their values and their traditions.

An analysis of the reporting of Vietnam might well confirm some of those perceptions. Edward Jay Epstein's essay on what the full text of the Pentagon papers said as compared to the edited version *The New York Times* released is a case in point. Why did the *Times* distort that information to the detriment of the U.S. government? Peter Braestrup's book, *Big Story*, with its detailed analysis of media coverage of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, is similarly provocative. Why did the press by and large report the Tet offensive as a failure when it was far from that? The answer may well be that the press was so caught in its own illusions, fads, fashions and anti-Americanism that the truth got lost in what Wolfe described as a "Marxist mist."

By the time Grenada came along, the public had caught on to the adversary-for-adversary's cake attitude of the press. And there is no doubt that a gleeful "gotcha!" attitude emerged when the press was excluded. This is a tragedy, and it is dangerous.

It is precisely because the press is a vital institution in a free society that people should accept its role as a watchdog and sometimes harbinger of bad news, that they should not cheer when it is excluded from military operations. And it is precisely for those reasons that the press should be intelligent and responsible enough not to be caught up in whatever fashion is blowing in the wind. Members of the press have been crying wolf for so long when there was no wolf that we now face the hellishly dangerous position that, when the wolf really comes, no one will believe them.

Of course the press has an obligation to be guided by its own conscience, but that does not mean that it may not be fallible and guided by the wrong ideas. For all I know, Nazi propagandist Josef Goebbels was guided by his conscience. Being guided by one's conscience is, as Bruning's column illustrated, no guarantee of being right. One should also think.

Bourassa's long climb back



DERIK IUPC

Bourassa (centre) with Westmount meeting chairman John Pepper, Mulroney (below), applause

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Ten years ago Robert Bourassa, then Quebec premier, gave a speech in the Montreal riding of Westmount shortly after introducing legislation that made French the province's only official language. Bodyguards surrounded him that night, and when he tried to speak the angry, predominantly anglophone audience booed him for curtailing their language rights. Last week Bourassa returned to Westmount to a much warmer welcome. Quebec's resurrected Liberal leader drew a friendly overflow crowd of 800 people to Westmount's Victoria Hall. They even applauded Bourassa when he mentioned his contentious language law, Bill 22. Declared Bourassa, "It [the law] allowed us to tell Quebecers that we have no lessons to learn from the Parti Québécois when it comes to protecting French Canadians."

The success of the Westmount meeting delighted Liberal supporters, but Bourassa calmly accepted his newfound popularity. "Time changes nearly everything in politics," he said. Indeed, four months after regaining the leadership of the Quebec Liberal party, the 50-year-old Bourassa is still proving his political adroitness. He has won over opponents in his party and helped to give the Liberals a big lead in popular support over the Parti Québécois. The PQ government may delay the election until 1986, but recent polls show that voters prefer Bourassa to Premier René Lévesque by a 3-to-1 margin. As a result, Bourassa's once-improbable dream of becoming premier again appears increasingly realistic.

Bourassa does not have a seat in Quebec's national assembly, although he has promised to seek election "if the opportunity presents itself." But he is clearly not anxious to run for office quickly. Since October he has passed up the chance to contest two by-elections. He prefers to increase the party's membership and funds. "I cannot think of a single one of my advisers who wants me in the assembly right now," he told *Maclean's*. Instead, he leaves control of the Liberal caucus to House Leader Gérard D. Lévesque and spends much of his time travelling around the province, visiting at least four different ridings each week to promote the Liberals as the next government.

Parti Québécois members have criticized Bourassa's campaigning. "Quebecers expect their political leaders to sit in parliament," declared Gérald Godin, the minister of cultural communities and immigration. "If he keeps ducking [re-election], he will be written off soon as a chicken."

But even the Parti Québécois' renewed pledge to fight the next election on the issue of independence has helped Bourassa, because it draws attention to his role as leader of the province's federalist forces. His social engagements confirm that status. In the past five weeks alone, Bourassa has dined with both John Turner, a potential contender for the federal Liberal leadership, and Alberta Conservative Premier Peter Lougheed. He has also had several telephone conversations with Brian Mulroney, the federal Tory leader and a close friend. Still, one significant name is missing from the list of Bourassa's recent meetings and discussions: Pierre Trudeau. He has not talked with the Prime Minister since last June. The two men dislike each other, and it has been years since Bourassa spoke at length with the man who once dismissed him as a low-class *"mangeur de hot-dogs,"* (hotdog eater).



JEAN-LUC LEBLANC

Bourasss's second attempt to become premier is a remarkably low-budget affair. When he held power from 1970 to 1976, his large entourage even included a personal hairdresser. Now, he has only one employee working directly for him—an executive assistant. Bourassa's office at Liberal headquarters in Montreal also reflects his spartan style. It has so few personal touches that a friend once declared: "God, Robert, you missed your calling. You should have been a designer for a low-budget hotel."

Bourassa insists that "for better or worse" he has not changed a great deal in the seven years that he has been out of power. Indeed, many of his habits remain the same. He still swims 20 lengths in the nearest available pool each day, sleeps exactly seven hours each night and has no consuming interest outside work. Even Bourassa's public speaking style, stiff and curiously lacking in emotion, remains the same.

Despite the honeymoon-like atmosphere that Bourassa has enjoyed since regaining the leadership, some federalists, including a few Quebec MPs, privately question his commitment to their cause. Bourassa flirted with the idea of separatism in the 1960s but since then he has proven where his allegiance lies. "I paid my dues many times over in the [1980 Quebec] referendum on sovereignty when I debated anybody, anywhere on this issue," he said. But he also wants voters to realize that he is a strong Quebec nationalist who would negotiate with Ottawa to regain the province's right to veto constitutional changes. "Every Liberal leader in the past has been accused of being either a hostage of the English community, a tool of the federal Liberals or both," he declared. "I dare say not even the PQ would have the nerve to accuse me of either."

The PQ recently released a list of past Liberal statements, hoping to remind Quebecers of Bourassa's past unpopularity. But the former premier defended his record, contending that it can stand the test of time and any comparison with PQ achievements. For one thing, he claimed, Bill 22 is evidence of that. When the bill was passed in 1974, Bourassa became the object of scorn among anglophones. But that language legislation now appears moderate in tone and objectives compared to Bill 101, the PQ's much stricter law that replaced it. "A week is a long time in politics, and a year is an eternity," Bourassa says repeatedly. Seven years after losing power, Bourassa believes that it is the province—and not he—that has changed, and that Quebec is ready to welcome him back. ◇

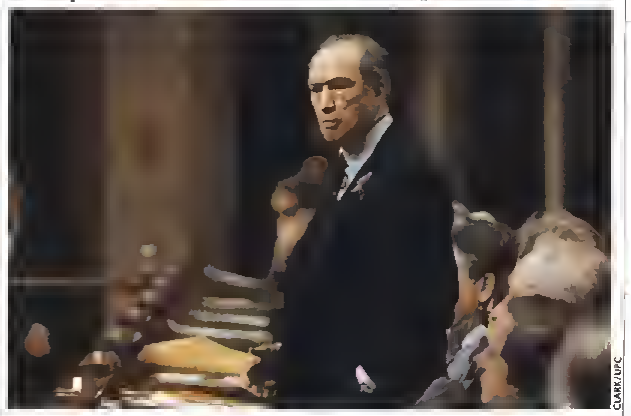
Trudeau goes to Moscow

It was one of the more long-awaited and listened-to orations in the Commons. Last week Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau gave a solemn 50-minute accounting of his three-month international peace crusade. Because he had been unable to visit the ailing Soviet president, Yuri Andropov, the final chapter in the saga clearly remained unwritten. But Trudeau declared, "I intend to go to Moscow whenever circumstances permit." Then, less than 24 hours later, executive assistant Ted Johnson telephoned the Prime Minister at home to inform him that Andropov had died during the night (page 20). That major development on the international stage thoroughly overshadowed questions about the future of Trudeau's peace mission. Trudeau announced that he will attend Andropov's funeral in Moscow this week and might use the occasion to discuss his proposals with other Soviet officials.

In his address to Parliament, Trudeau—who learned last week that he had been nominated, with 75 other people, for the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize—indicated that his peace mission was drawing to a close, and he appeared to take some credit for a lessening in international tensions. "Let it be said of Canada and of Canadians," Trudeau told the Commons, "that we saw the crisis, that we did act, that we took risks ... that we have done what we could to lift the shadow of war." Later, after hearing of the Soviet leader's death, Trudeau said, "I will not be seeing Andropov, but I imagine there still will be a leadership in the Soviet Union and I still want to see them."

It was a trying—and saddening—week for Trudeau. He learned of his Nobel nomination early in the week while working with top advisers on his foreign policy speech. Then the Prime Minister was called out of the meeting to take a personal phone call from Vancouver and learned of the death of his crusty but likable father-in-law, James Sinclair, with whom Trudeau had stayed on friendly terms despite the fact that he and Sinclair's daughter, Margaret, are now separated.

At the same time, Trudeau's government was under heavier-than-usual fire in Parliament over jobs and taxes—a made-to-order combination for the opposition parties on the eve of this week's federal budget. Citing revelations that Liberal ridings benefited from blatant favoritism under the government's latest make-work program (*Maclean's*, Feb. 13), Brian Mulroney's Conservatives demanded a list showing exactly where $300 million in the Employment Creation Grants and Contributions Program had been spent. Employment Minister John Roberts, who is responsible for the program, was out of the country, and Trudeau would say only that he "imagined" federal officials were working to compile a list.



CLARK IUPC

Trudeau in Parliament: a trying and saddening week, with heavy opposition fire

Throughout the week the Prime Minister tried to remain above the fray by concentrating on his foreign policy endeavors. But in a pattern that has become familiar over the past three months, Trudeau, who may soon step down, looked more and more like a man who is no longer as completely in control of events as he once was.

—CAROL GOAR *in Ottawa.*

The politics of gender

As the three federal political parties prepare for an election that may take place this year, most of them are devoting increased attention to a factor that is still basically an unknown quantity in Canada's electoral process: the influence women voters, motivated by distinct concerns, can exert at the polls. It is doubtful the kind of "gender gap" in voting patterns that has been detected in the United States also exists in Canada. But some analysts contend the potential for such a gap is growing. And that conviction, combined with the mounting prominence of issues that concern women—ranging from pornography and rape to the anticruise missile movement—has caught the attention of politicians.

As a result, both the Liberals and the Conservatives have been moving recently to attract the women's vote, or at least to avoid alienating it. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau last month named two women—York University sociologist Lorna Marsden and Anne Cools, an unsuccessful Liberal candidate and one-time student radical—to the Senate. Earlier in January, Judy Erola, status of women minister and a potential Liberal leadership contender, announced $15 million in extra funding for women's groups over the next four years. The Liberals also plan to set up a Judy LaMarsh fund, named for the late cabinet minister, to help Liberal women who run for public office.

The federal Tories took similar steps. Last month Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney appointed Jocelyne Côté-O'Hara, a financial analyst for Petro-Canada International, as his adviser on women's issues. She heads a new, volunteer, 15-member women's advisory council. At the same time, an informal group of Tory feminists is trying to change what its members consider to be Mulroney's sometimes patronizing attitude toward women. Patricia Cooper, a Calgary YWCA director and women's rights activist in the Conservative party, said that during his campaign for the Tory leadership Mulroney responded to a female questioner's inquiry about the role of women in his party by suggesting that "I'd be glad to take you out for a drink later to talk about it." Added Cooper: "Some of us were really offended. He cannot afford too many remarks like that."

A measure of the parties' policies toward women will become clearer when nominations are completed for the next federal election. Currently, the 282-seat Commons has only 15 female members—nine Liberals, three Tories and three New Democrats—giving women only a 5.3-per-cent representation in the chamber. Traditionally, the Tories have been the party least receptive to women. And some feminists fear that if they win the next election the overall number of women in the House of Commons may actually drop. Despite her efforts to attract more women to run for the Tories, Jean Pigott, a former Conservative MP who is now a party adviser in Ottawa, said that she is pessimistic about the chances of her party running any more than the 14 women candidates they fielded in the 1980 federal election. "I am not expecting a breakthrough this year," she said. "But it will come."

So far, women have tended to be politically more visible at the provincial level, where they are increasingly active as legislators and cabinet ministers. Newfoundland, Quebec and Ontario each have two female ministers, and Manitoba has three. At the same time, women's groups are becoming politically active in pushing for such things as family law reform and tougher penalties for assaults on women and in the current federal study of prostitution and pornography. Phyllis Ellis, director of the Alberta Women's Bureau, said that demands for stricter limitations on pornography may develop into an election issue, at least in Western Canada. "It is a very emotional issue for a lot of women," she added. "Candidates are going to be asked about it."

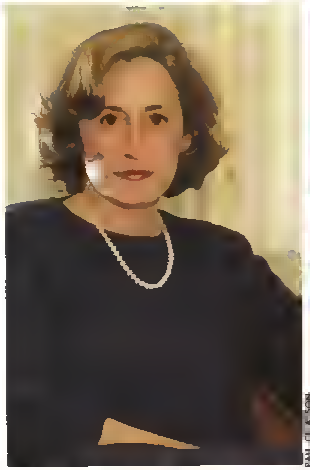
But women, as a political bloc, may have little influence in deciding the next election. In the United States studies have detected a seven- to 13-per-cent point spread over the past four years between male and female voting habits. But historically, said Carleton University political scientist Jon Pammett, there has been no significant difference in male and female voting patterns in Canada. That may change. Allan Gregg, director of Toronto-based Decima Research, for one, said that a potential gender gap exists in Canada. It surfaced first in the United States, added Gregg, because major political issues there in recent years have involved disarmament, military spending and crime—precisely the kind of life-and-death issues that most concern women. If disarmament were to become an issue in Canadian politics, Gregg said, political parties "would find a very potent women's voice in favor of peace."

Increasingly, many Canadian women are trying to channel their shared political concerns into concerted action. Said Nancy Poole, a member of Regina's Citizens for Reproductive Choice: "My perception is that there is a lot of consolidation going on in women's voting patterns and lobbying. We need to work together, because that is when governments take us seriously." Laurie Talmey, president of the National Women's Liberal Committee, wants the 600 to 900 women delegates who are expected to attend the next Liberal leadership convention to arrive free of commitments. That policy, said Talmey, would give women "tremendous power" to trade off votes in return for policy promises by leadership contenders.

Of the main federal parties, only Ed Broadbent's New Democrats appear to be flagging in their efforts to win over women. In the past the NDP has had more women candidates than its rivals and it has strictly enforced equal representation for women on party boards and committees. But recently women's groups have criticized Broadbent's office for being indifferent to the role of women—and a key women's advisory position in the party was only filled in January, after being vacant for six months.

For all the strides that women have made in politics, there are still real social and economic barriers to overcome. Women in many parts of the country also still have to contend with chauvinistic criticism when they enter politics. Another problem that women sometimes face in political life, said Madeleine LeBlanc, of the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, is a "lack of support from husbands and friends." Added LeBlanc: "When a man enters politics, his wife supports him. I am not sure that women get that same support." For all that, Canada's female politicians hope eventually to break down the barriers to full participation in the electoral process. "We have 52 per cent of the population," said Kathleen Stanley, a member of the Conservative party's national executive and a candidate for her party's nomination in the Nepean-Carleton riding west of Ottawa. "We have 52 per cent of the talent, too, and the sooner the parties realize that, the better."

—REPORTED BY SUSAN RILEY in *Ottawa, with bureau reports*





Côté-O'Hara and Cooper: increasingly, women are trying to channel their concerns into political action and seats



A net gain for National Sea

By Michael Clugston

It was a dramatic rescue by any standard, especially for Nova Scotia, where the business aristocracy cultivates low profiles and quiet deals. Last week's last-minute corporate restructuring of National Sea Products Ltd (NSP) by the province's business elite saved the largest fishing company in North America from a government takeover, ending months of public controversy and political infighting. After orchestrating a private ownership arrangement of the heavily indebted fishing giant, 44-year-old businessman David Hennigar, who is normally as publicity-shy as his famous grandfather, food industry magnate Roy Jodrey, celebrated by walking into the NSP's offices in Halifax and ringing an old ship's bell hanging on the wall. That peal may signal a new, firmer foundation for Atlantic Canada's fishing industry. It also ended months of concern that fishermen and smaller fishing companies might have to compete against a huge government-owned fishing conglomerate.

Hennigar and his associates in the new venture were minority shareholders in NSP before the restructuring. All belong to established Nova Scotian business families, including the Sobeys, Morrows and Jodreys. In fact, the Sobey family of Stellarton, N.S., held a controlling block of NSP shares until 1977, when they sold it to NSP's most recent owner, H.B. Nickerson & Sons Ltd. The restructuring formula was unveiled only three days before the Bank of Nova Scotia was scheduled to call in outstanding loans of roughly $75 million, forcing NSP into receivership. That corporate collapse would have rocked Atlantic Canada. NSP, with some 15,000 employees and dependent fishermen, and plants in all four provinces as well as Quebec, is the major source of employment in many coastal communities.

National Sea's difficulties were part of a larger pattern of financial instability which enfeebled four of the major offshore fishing companies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia after Canada declared control over a 200-mile fishing zone in 1977. The companies—including Fishery Products Ltd. and the Lake Group Ltd. in Newfoundland, and NSP and H.B. Nickerson & Sons Ltd. in Nova Scotia—anticipated a fish bonanza which never arrived and they expanded too rapidly at a time when costs and foreign competition were increasing. Finally, in January, 1982, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau appointed one of his former advisers (now a senator) Michael Kirby, to find solutions to the East Coast fisheries crisis. Last September, in line with a Kirby recommendation, the two Newfoundland companies joined together in a single firm, with Ottawa and Newfoundland as major shareholders. At that time it seemed likely that Ottawa, the Nova Scotia government and the Bank of Nova Scotia, a major creditor, would also form a consortium and buy the two troubled Nova Scotia companies.



HEDMAN/FINANCIAL POST

Processing fish aboard an NSP trawler: saving a firm

But last December, Hennigar and other NSP minority shareholders made their first proposal for a privately financed restructuring, sparking a controversy that ended only last week. The provincial government immediately backed away from the planned deal with Ottawa and the bank and threw its support behind Hennigar's group.

During the weeks of negotiations that followed, the Nova Scotia government accused Ottawa of trying to nationalise the fishing industry. The Halifax *Chronicle-Herald*, for one, accused the federal government of attempting to impose "collectivization on the Soviet or Chinese model." Ottawa's insistence that it could not find any willing investors for a private enterprise deal was largely overlooked. Said one federal official: "Now we will never lose the stigma of trying to force nationalization."

The Hennigar group clinched the deal late in January when it agreed to invest $20 million to keep the company in private hands. At the same time the Toronto Dominion Bank agreed to buy $75 million worth of shares in the company and together with the Royal Bank replaced the Bank of Nova Scotia as NSP's major creditor. The federal government is also giving $70 million to the Bank of Nova Scotia, which, in return, is releasing H.B. Nickerson from $100 million in debt obligation. Nickerson's assets will be distributed between NSP and the Newfoundland company. To ease NSP's chronic shortage of operating funds, Ottawa also invested $10 million with the Nova Scotian government, converting $25 million worth of debt into equity.

For the 150 independent fish processors in the province the deal leaves one crucial issue unresolved: whether or not NSP will use its newfound strength to crowd out competition. Federal analysts believe that the company's management must increase profits, currently 13 per cent on sales of $386 million, to about 20 per cent in an international market that will likely not expand for at least two years. "All the restructuring has done is give the company the opportunity to get its costs down and increase its productivity," declared Jack Hart, a Price Waterhouse partner on the federal restructuring team. "If management cannot do that, National Sea could find itself back in trouble again." Ottawa, Halifax and thousands of Atlantic Canadians are hoping that National will win its struggle for survival.



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The World After Andropov

By Robert Miller

He was too old and too ill, and his days in power were too few to justify any claim to greatness. And there was too much treachery and guile in his past to credit him with goodness. But the death last week of 69-year-old Soviet leader Yuri Andropov dashed his 275 million comrades' lingering hopes that he would become the great leader their troubled country so desperately needs. It also touched off a brief but crucial power struggle within the Soviet high command and caused a fleeting concern in much of the rest of the world.

For the second time in 15 months, Moscow prepared to mount a showcase funeral—complete with hundreds of dignitaries, thousands of troops and untold numbers of flowers and flags—while the Soviet people and the world waited for the 13 old men of the Politburo to choose a new successor to the czars.

Andropov, a shadowy figure who went from spymaster to master politician in the final year of Leonid Brezhnev's reign, routing all rivals in the process, was only the fifth undisputed boss of the Kremlin since Vladimir Ilyich Lenin led the Russian Revolution in 1917. He also served the briefest term—little more than a year, during much of which he was incapacitated by kidney disease. But Andropov's emergence in November, 1982, was accompanied by fervent optimism among the Soviet public, and his passing—widely forecast for months—triggered fears that a new leader would revert to the pre-Andropov style of government, with its shameless favoritism and notorious economic ineptitude.

The official death announcement, which was preceded by the ritual broadcasting of sombre classical music, came Friday morning, a full 22 hours after the heart stopped beating in Andropov's shockingly wasted body. The Soviets had given a few hours' advance notice to foreign governments. As a 27-member state funeral committee chaired by Andropov's archrival, 72-year-old Konstantin Chernenko, began to plan the event, world leaders, including Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Britain's Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French Premier Pierre Mauroy, began making arrangements to fly to Moscow for what was certain to be a spectacular event. President Ronald Reagan decided against attending and instead assigned Vice-President George Bush to represent Washington. But Reagan did send a message of condolence, taking the opportunity to remind the Soviets of "the deep and heartfelt desire of the American people for world peace." For his part, Bush, who attended Brezhnev's funeral, where he had a brief meeting with Andropov, noted the severely strained relations between the two superpowers. Declared Bush: "We view this as a turning point, a possibility to move forward, and we're going there with an open mind."

Pinched and pale: While tributes and messages of sympathy poured into the snow-swept Soviet capital from nearly all the world's governments, the Politburo decreed a four-day period of official mourning for Andropov, a onetime Volga boatman who rose through the Communist Party ranks and who served 15 years as head of the dreaded Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (KGB), the Committee for State Security, before becoming general secretary of the party and president of the Soviet Union.

Andropov's body was taken to lie in state in the former ballroom of the ornate Hall of Columns to await burial on Feb. 14. It was placed in an open casket and, in the Russian tradition, covered to the chest with blankets of flowers, mainly lilies and carnations. Andropov's face, scarcely recognizable, was pinched and pale. His sparse white hair was barely noticeable in profile, and his lips were thin and colorless. In life, until his illness forced him to retire from public view last Aug. 18, Andropov had been an erect, sturdy, even forceful figure who walked purposefully and stared coolly through thick spectacles. In death he was a shrunken, pathetic figure. The man who had brought grief to thousands of others during his time at the KGB had clearly suffered badly himself in his final months, during which his life was sustained by a dialysis machine that ultimately failed to compensate for acute renal failure.

The setting in the Hall of Columns in the House of Trade Unions, a magnificent Moscow mansion built in 1784 for Prince Dolgorukov-Krymsky and later an exclusive club for the pre-Revolution nobility, verged on the macabre: scores of wreaths and chandeliers draped in black crepe, a 40-piece stringed orchestra dressed in black on a raised stage, a thick red carpet along which invited dignitaries—including government officials, cosmonauts, senior military officers and sports celebrities—walked stiffly past the casket to pay their respects.

Outside the mansion a cordon of police officers stood guard, along with 5,000 Red Army soldiers. The line of mourners, wrapped in thick coats and fur hats, shuffled along Pushkin Street, taking an average of three hours to reach the coffin. A few uninvited citizens tried to join the queue but were turned back by security personnel. All those invited had been carefully chosen to represent a broad cross section of Soviet life, from humble factory workers to senior party functionaries. The buildings of Moscow itself were festooned with Soviet flags, and red-and-black banners flew from virtually every lamp post.

The lying in state was covered extensively by Moscow television and provided a revelation. Muscovites had their first glimpse of Andropov's wife, a woman wearing a black dress, hat and veil whose name was officially revealed to be Tatyana. Until her appearance Saturday afternoon, most Soviets, indeed, most Western intelligence officials, had believed Andropov to be either widowed or divorced. Tatyana Andropov was accompanied by her daughter, Irina, and her 37-year-old son, Igor, who made no attempt to conceal his grief.

Low-key struggle: In the weeks before Andropov's death a low-key but intensely waged struggle for the succession developed within the Politburo. It pitted the so-called old guard, veteran politicians who rose to power under Brezhnev or former chairman Nikita Khrushchev, against younger men whose inclusion in the inner circle came toward the end of Brezhnev's career or during Andropov's brief interregnum.

Leading the older forces was Brezhnev favorite Chernenko, who lost a power struggle with Andropov in 1982 but who has exercised a key role in recent months as Andropov's No. 2. One indicator that Chernenko might wield even greater power in the next few years was his selection as chairman of the funeral committee, a job performed by Andropov when Brezhnev died. Another was the fact that he and other old-guard members, including the powerful Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov, 75, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 74, and Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, 78, led the Politburo members as they trooped into the Hall of Columns Saturday afternoon. The two main younger contenders were Agriculture Minister Mikhail Gorbachev, 52, a hand-picked appointee of Andropov's, and former Leningrad party boss Grigory Romanov, 61, a hard-liner who moved his power base to become a secretary of the Central Committee last June. Veteran Kremlin watchers speculated that neither Gorbachev, who paid an official visit to Canada last year, nor the hand-



SOVFOTO/BLACK STAR

Muscovites view the passing image of their leader: last year's May Day parade: unable to achieve his domestic and diplomatic goals, Andropov's death seemed almost anticlimactic



SYGMA



BUREAU/SYGMA

Politburo members (with Andropov as pallbearer on the right) carrying Brezhnev's coffin through Red Square, Chernenko: remov cult of personality and cracking down on favoritism

some and flamboyant Romanov would have been natural choices for the job

The Soviet public clearly would prefer a younger, more dynamic leadership But the gerontocracy in the Kremlin has always been wary of radical change. The new leadership will have power and prestige but it will also inherit daunting problems: a stagnant economy at home (page 30) and bitterly hostile relations with the United States as only one of numerous foreign dilemmas, including the continuing Red Army campaign to subdue Afghanistan and increasing agitation for a looser collar in the Eastern European satellites

Ever since the Soviet air force shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in September, 1983, an incident which claimed 269 lives and provoked revulsion around the world, the Reagan administration has led an unrelenting diplomatic and propaganda offensive against Moscow Andropov had already withdrawn from public view, and Moscow seemed shaken by the hostility the incident unleashed Finally, the Kremlin took the unprecedented step of assigning a career Red Army officer, Gen Nikolai Ogarkov, 66, to explain the Soviet action at a press conference Ogarkov was impressive, a man who clearly had command of his subject, and his smooth performance before the Western press led to speculation that he might be Ustinov's eventual successor as defence minister The support of the army, which backed Andropov, has become almost essential for any aspirant to supreme power in the Soviet Union, which meant that during the recent internal struggle Ustinov was the most assiduously courted of all the Politburo members

Worsening relations: For his part, Secretary of State George Shultz reacted to Andropov's death by suggesting that the United States would consider reducing the heat of its rhetoric if the new Soviet regime indicated that it wanted to talk substantively Said Shultz: "At this time of transition in Moscow . . . we remain ready for a constructive and realistic dialogue In this nuclear age, we seek to find real solutions to real problems, not just to improve the atmosphere of our relations."

The nuclear stalemate between the superpowers and their worsening relations inspired Trudeau's much-publicized global peace mission last fall The Prime Minister was frustrated by Andropov's poor health when he sought to complete his mission by visiting Moscow with his proposals But Trudeau clearly hoped for a chance to broach the subject during his trip to the Soviet Union this week.

According to Canada's former ambassador to the Soviet Union, Robert Ford, the brief Andropov regime will be recalled as a failure, at least in the area of foreign policy Ford, watching events unfold from his retirement villa in France, declared "Ten years from now we will look back and probably see a series of setbacks He [Andropov] was unable to end the revolt in Afghanistan Poland is still in turmoil He did not prevent the American missiles from being deployed in Europe And the Soviet Union suffered losses in the Third World, the Caribbean and Latin America" Andropov, always a pragmatist, probably would have agreed.

The Soviet leader presided over a closed society and he spent most of his working life in the shadows—first as a bureaucrat, later as a spymaster Those who knew him said he was ruthless, opportunistic, devious and supersecretive He guarded details of his private life as diligently as the KGB covers its agents' identities Although he served at the summit of world power, Andropov remained a mysterious and remote figure, an enigma to foreign intelligence professionals and the Western media

Much of the information about Andropov's sophisticated lifestyle, which gained wide circulation on both sides of the Iron Curtain while he was making his meticulously planned bid to succeed Brezhnev, has since been ridiculed—by his son, Igor, among others Andropov's false image was probably constructed by the KGB—as part of a cunning, propaganda campaign Its purpose: to make a 15-year veteran of the secret police politically palatable among Soviet officials and the general population Its method: the systematic planting of false bits of information among Western correspondents who were hungry for personal details about a man with a strong chance to rule a superpower, information that was dutifully reported in the West and then broadcast back to the Soviet Union by such widely listened-to services as Radio Free Europe and the British Broadcasting Corp Its copromoters: Soviet defectors and dissident emigrés who parroted, confirmed or embellished KGB falsehoods in order to curry favor, establish reputations or promote books in the West

Tantalizing gossip: The "disinformation" campaign about Andropov was so effective that ordinarily circumspect and cautious publications, including those with international circulations, presented Andropov as an urbane, witty conversationalist who had a firm grasp of the English language, a penchant for big band music by Glenn Miller and Benny Goodman, a taste for French brandy and Scotch whisky, a fondness for such Western novels as Richard Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* and Jacqueline Susann's *Valley of the Dolls*, a passion for tennis and swimming and an insatiable appetite for dancing the tango There were other pieces of gossip, equally tantalizing, equally uncheckable

After his father had consolidated his hold on power, Igor Andropov, a middle-echelon foreign affairs specialist, expressed astonishment at the swinger's image presented in the Western media. He once told an interviewer "He has always been too busy working He has no time [for such pastimes]" And when Bush met Andropov after Brezhnev's funeral, the Soviet leader did not use a single word of English and he relied on an interpreter to read and translate a few simple paragraphs According to American journalist Edward Jay Epstein, who wrote a devastating analysis of early Andropov coverage in the U.S. media for *The New Republic* magazine, "What emerges is a portrait worthy of *Saturday Night Live*—the head of the KGB as one wild and crazy guy [The truth is] that virtually nothing is known about this man called Andropov: not the names of his parents, not his ethnic background, not his war service, not his preferences in music and literature, not his linguistic abilities, not his ideas."

Indeed, the day Andropov died there were still conflicting reports about whether his wife, variously identified as Tatyana, Tanya and Natasha, was alive. Some biographers insisted that Andropov had two daughters, although only one had ever been named: Irina, the wife of actor Aleksandr Filipov And she was either a journalist or a Moscow housewife, depending on the source consulted.

Despite Andropov's almost obsessive secrecy, some details were generally accepted as accurate and were essentially confirmed by his brief, almost cryptic official biography. Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov was born on June 15, 1914, in the small railway town of Nagutskaya in Stavropol province in southwestern Russia His father was "a railroad man," according to the biography. Nothing is known in the West of Andropov's early years—it is assumed that he spent most of them in school—but by the age of 16 he was working as a Volga boatman at Mozdok and he had joined the Communist Youth League (Komsomol). He also worked briefly as a telegraph operator and then became a Komsomol organizer at the Volodarsky shipyards in the port of Rybinsk, where he also attended the Inland Waterways Transport College.

He later enrolled in a university at Petrozavodsk, near the Finnish border, but there is no evidence that Andropov ever graduated, apparently he had become too busy with his Communist Party duties to spend time in classrooms. He rose quickly through the ranks of the Komsomol, which was continuously purged by Stalin (as were all other sectors of Soviet society, including the military, in the years before the Second World War), and he managed to stay out of trouble while earning the approval of his seniors

Trudeau with Gorbachev (right) in Ottawa last spring: a futile reign



CP/UPI/AFP



ALPHA DIFFUSION

St. Basil's Cathedral; armed forces parade: a reversion to a pre-Andropov style



NOGUES, SYGMA

By 1940, when he was barely 26, Andropov had been promoted to the sensitive and important post of first secretary of the Komsomol in the new Karelian republic which had been carved out of former Finnish territory after the 1939-40 Russo-Finnish war. He had just taken up his post when Germany attacked the Soviet Union and Finland declared war on Moscow. Parts of Karelia were occupied by Finnish and German troops, and, according to the official biography, Andropov became "an active participant in the partisan movement." After the Red Army reclaimed the area in 1944, Andropov's career resumed its upward path and by 1951 he had become a senior bureaucrat with the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow.

He served on the committee for three years, first as an inspector with unspecified duties and later as the head of a section that maintained liaison with the Communist parties in the various Eastern European satellites. By 1954, as the brutal Stalin era began to fade into history and the Nikita Khrushchev regime was becoming entrenched, Andropov was chosen for a diplomatic posting: ambassador to Hungary. It was another upward step, and one that had profound consequences for his career.

Full-blown revolution: In Budapest there was mounting dissatisfaction among Hungarian officials and workers with their Soviet masters. In 1956 the government of Imre Nagy, encouraged by liberal elements within the Hungarian Communist Party, challenged Moscow's authority. Within days a full-blown revolution was under way. It was crushed by Soviet tanks. The Soviets arrested Nagy, executed him and installed Andropov's nominee, János Kádár, as head of the local party. Throughout the battle Andropov's embassy served as Soviet command headquarters, and he personally acted as the liaison in the Moscow-Budapest dialogue, evidently impressing his superiors at home and at least reassuring the new regime in Hungary. His reward followed swiftly: in 1957 he returned to Moscow and was given a senior party job—chief co-ordinator of relations with the Soviet Bloc countries.

For the next decade he travelled extensively outside the Soviet Union but he never ventured beyond its sphere of influence. He worked closely with the Politburo's powerful party theoretician, Mikhail Suslov, and in 1964 Khrushchev chose him to make the April 22 Lenin Day speech to the top officials of both the party and state organizations. It was a singular honor. The speech, reported in full in the Soviet press, made Andropov a public figure for the first time, although he had been elected a secretary of the Central Committee two years earlier and was known among senior party bureaucrats as a man to watch. Under Khrushchev's benevolent hand, Andropov's career prospered. When Khrushchev was overthrown in late 1964 and a protracted power struggle followed, Andropov shrewdly decided to back Brezhnev. Afterward, his career flourished.

The two most important advances in Andropov's life—his appointment as the chief of the KGB in 1967 and his capture of supreme power in 1982—were at least partly attributable to misbehavior by daughters of former Soviet leaders. In 1967 Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, defected to the West, shocking senior Soviet and party officials and leading to the dismissal of, among others, KGB boss Vladimir [illegible] peccadilos and questionable Moscow companions, one of whom was a jewel thief, were used by Andropov to undermine her father's authority among Politburo and Central Committee members and to enhance Andropov's own claim to the succession.

Andropov's appointment to the KGB put him in charge of a vast network of domestic spies, police and border guards—current KGB manpower is roughly 500,000—and a then small and relatively unsophisticated intelligence service abroad. There is little doubt that Brezhnev and Suslov expected Andropov to reinforce the party's control over the secret police—an organization feared by almost everyone in the Soviet Union. Founded as the Cheka by Felix Dzerzhinsky, who was handpicked by Lenin and whose name identifies the vast Moscow square now shared by KGB headquarters and the toy store Deteky Mir (Children's World), the secret police were renamed the NKVD under Stalin. In 1967 Andropov was following in the footsteps, but not copying the style, of such notorious security bosses as Genrikh Yagoda and Lavrenti Beria, who conducted bloody purges on Stalin's orders and were subsequently executed for their efforts.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Ogarkov: armed power

Shortly after taking command Andropov began modernizing and expanding the KGB, both at home and abroad. The shadowy world of spies, international intrigue, troublemaking, disinformation and so-called "wet jobs" (assassinations) were only part of his job. He also displayed the managerial talent needed to run a huge and far-flung organization and to master vast amounts of detail. His demonstrated ability, augmented by his personal loathing of corruption and laziness, later reinforced his claim for supreme power.

Controversial campaign: During his tenure at the KGB Andropov became a full member of the Politburo (in 1973) and effectively smashed the dissident movement within the Soviet Union—allowing thousands of disaffected Jews to emigrate and arresting or placing in psychiatric wards thousands of other critics of the Brezhnev regime. It was a long and controversial campaign and one that unleashed impotent fury in the West. But Andropov persevered and, by the time he handed over the KGB to Vitaly V. Fedorchuk, since promoted to the post of internal affairs minister, the [illegible] movement was virtually exhausted and emigration had stopped. Andropov resigned from the KGB in May, 1982, to cleanse his image and begin his final climb to absolute power.

Andropov swiftly made himself the



The unalterable East-West reality

With the death of President Yuri Andropov, the scene is set for the opening of a new era in Superpower relations. To explore the options, Maclean's *Senior Editor Dovid North interviewed Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter's national security adviser.*

Maclean's: *With Andropov dead and his successor yet to establish his position, and Reagan embroiled in his re-election bid, both Superpowers are effectively without strong leadership. Do you see this as a threat?*

Brzezinski: I have to register some disagreemsnt with the underlying premise of the question. Dealing with the Soviet side first, I happen to be of the view that the new Soviet leadership is likely to emerge more established and more quickly than most people anticipate. After all, with Andropov ill for almost half a yeac, someone has been running the Soviet Union. Someone has been teking decisions and someone will now emerge more openly as the acknowledged leader. It appears that it will be Chernenko, but I eannot be sure at this stage. The point I would raise is that while Brezhnev died suddenly even though he was ill, Andropov died after a lingering illness not having in the first place consolidated his leadership. Thus the Soviets are further along today in resolving the succession problem than they have been in the past. As far as the United States is concerned, whatever one might say about the divisive consequences of the American presidential eampaign, the fact is that Reagan in foreign policy strikes a rather confident pose and is eapable of taking firm decisions. Thus, I don't think it is fair to say that the United Stetes is also debilitated by uncertain leadership. One may not like Mr. Reagan or what he stands for or, particularly, what he says. But it is difficult not to acknowledge that he is firmly in charge.

Maclean's: *How much of the mistrust between the Superpowers is due to issues—like nuclear arms—and ideology, and how much is due to the difference in their political systems?*

Brzezinski: There is an animosity even more deeply rooted than any of the factors that you have mentioned. It is derived from very different historical perspectives, very different geopolitical situations, and these factors condition the way nations behave, define themselves and see each other. The normal tendency of Russia is to seek preponderance of the Eurasian continent, given its geographical location. The normal thrust of the United States is across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It is only during this century, because of new means of communication and tschnology, that these two outward thrusts have started colliding.

Maclean's: *What should be done to improve relations under all three headings?*

Brzezinski: It is very important for the U.S.-Soviet dialogue to be resumed. I regret the Soviet abortion of the arms control program and I hope that the Soviets coms back to negotiate seriously



Brzezinski: 'we need dialogue'

soon. But beyond that I feel very strongly, and particularly so on the basis of my own White House experience, that in negotiating with the Soviets, in litigating with the Soviets, we also need to engage in a broad, consultative dialogue with the Soviets. I have long felt that what is lacking in our relationship are any broadly gauged discussions about regional conditions, the thrust of global change, our respective responsibilities and interests, our conflicting perspectivss, because only out of such broader discussions can we begin to isolate possible areas of agreement. I would very strongly urge the initiation of such widely ranging consultations.

Maclean's: *Do personal initiatives by third parties, like the Trudeau peace mission, help at all?*

Brzezinski: The Trudeau peace mission has a certain apostolic quality to it. It can be helpful under certain circumstances, but in the final analysis the relationship between the two Superpowers is very strongly conditioned by their own view of their special interests and by their perceptions of each other. I wish Mr. Trudeau well, but I do not think that he has the means with which to genuinely influence attitudes or to eause signifieant changes in psreception or behavior.

Maclean's: *If you were still national security adviser, what line of action would you be counselling President Reagan to take now?*

Brzezinski: What I did counsel in fact was the following. One, he should not go to the funeral beeause Mr. Andropov does not merit such a gesture historically, nor is a funeral a good place for the undertaking of serious conversations with the Soviet leadership. Two, a very high-level Ameriean delegation should go and should carry with it an invitation to the new Soviet leader to meet later this spring with Mr. Reagan in a working summit. Three, the summit should be deliberately informal, a working session not geared to any expected major agreement but essentially consultative in nature. To underline its informal character it should be held somewhers outside of Washington, perhaps at some lodge in Alaska which is equidistant from Washington and Moscow. Four, if thinge work out well at such an informal working summit, the United States and the Soviet Union could strive perhaps to reach a limited interim accord on strategic arms limitations instead of striving for comprehensive and complex arms control agreements, which still remain very difficult to negotiate. A limited interim agreement confined to just two categories—reductions in the number of launchers and reductions in ths number of warheads—is, I think, feasible.

Maclean's: *Finally, what is your best guess about the future relationship between the Superpowers?*

Brzezinski: I know this will be disappointing to your readers, but the future is going to be more like the past than anything else. You will have ups and downs. It will be essentially a continuation of the relationship of antagonistic competition, but I believe that both sides will continue to manage it with prudence.

No 2 man behind Brezhnev, who was 75 years old and suffering from severs respiratory and cardiovascular disorders. With the KGB and ths all-powerful Red Army (in which he had become a general in 1976) firmly behind his eandidacy, and with the unwavering support of Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov, Andropov easily won a Politburo election to suceeed Suslov as minister of ideology. Suslov, who had been a Kremlin power figure for decades, had died of a stroke in January, 1982. Brezhnev clearly wanted Chernenko to fill the ideologue's chair. But the chairman wss ill, his daughter's love affairs and night-clubbing had become a KGB-fuelled scandal in Moscow, and Andropov had a majority of Politburo votes tied up. The aging chairman lost. Andropov could not be stopped.

Whsn Brezhnev died on Nov. 10, 1982, after 18 years as the top man in the troubled, mighty country, Andropov emerged as the new leader within two days. His campaign, ruthless and relentless, was so sffective that his name was put forward, unopposed, by Chernenko himself, Brezhnev's personal choice as successor. At the massive state funeral for Brezhnev, Andropov paid his respects not only to his predecessor but also to the widow, Viktoria Petrovna Brezhnev, and her daughter, the impetuous Galina. Andropov kissed them both, a gesture that made world headlines but infuriated Brezhnev loyalists.

Once in powsr, after greeting and briefly talking with a succession of world leaders who had flown to Moscow for the funeral, Andropov quickly defiaad the kind of nation he wanted the Soviet Union to become. He issued a truculent warning to the West that Soviet military might was unbeatable. Then hs ordered the trappings of personality, which highlighted the final Brezhnev years, to be dismantled (curtailing nonbusiness use of limousines, promising that his childrsn would not receive special favors or unearned promotions), and he began replacing Brezhnev allies throughout the Soviet system.

At the same time, he issuad a stern warning to workers that drunkenness and absenteeism would not be tolerated and be warned bureaucrats that corruption and incompetence would be severely punished. He fired the interior minister and the agriculture minister. He sent the police out on Operation Trawl, stopping and questioning citizens during working hours and arresting those who could not explain why they were not at their jobs.

He maintained an uncharacteristi-



Greeting Bush and Shultz: warnings to the West, failed attempts at change



Soviet rockets, Andropov with Fidel Castro and ideologue K.V. Rusakov: wasted



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A dead leader's moribund legacy

When Yuri Andropov succeeded Leonid Brezhnev in November, 1982, he inherited 18 years of domestic stagnation. Social and economic problems at home ranged from rampant alcoholism and soaring divorce rates to successive crop failures and the escalating military budget's drain on domestic resources. Now, just 15 months later, Andropov's successor will face many of the same challenges, some of them made more difficult by the managerial limbo resulting from the Soviet leader's six-month absence because of ill health.

Although Andropov's brief tenure began with the promise of swift domestic reform, that optimism quickly faded. Many observers believe that he was simply unable to break through the ossified bureaucratic system. Others have suggested that Andropov was so much a creature of that system himself that his attempts at reform were more rhetorical than real—or that his frail health precluded a concerted effort to revitalize the moribund society. In any case, Andropov made little more than a ripple in the sea of Soviet domestic problems.

Lags: The root of many of those problems is the relative rapidity of the Soviet Union's transition from a preindustrial society to one in which consumer goods are increasingly in demand and problems of the workplace—agricultural and industrial—are legion. The new consumer society, with all its accompanying demands for goods and services, creates a type of social unrest that is common to most modern states. In the Soviet Union, where industrial technology lags well behind that of other advanced states and industrial growth in 1982 was only 2.8 per cent, unemployment is virtually nonexistent. But because many workers are underemployed in badly organized plants and farms and marginal workers are given such menial tasks as sweeping streets and chipping ice, absenteeism is high and economic efficiency is correspondingly low.

Reversing that condition was one of Andropov's stated priorities. His first major action after taking office was to order squads of militia to go to food stores, movie theatres and even bathhouses during working hours to find workers who were absent from their jobs without authorization.

Illicit: Andropov intensified the campaign last August when he issued tough orders sanctioning dismissal for drunkenness on the job or chronic lack of productivity. A confidential document prepared by a committee of Soviet economists at the time described the average Soviet worker as having "low labor and production discipline, an indifferent attitude to work, social inactivity, a shoddy quality of output, a well-pronounced consumer mentality and a low code of ethics." It also referred to "pilfering, shady dealings at state expense, the proliferation of illicit businesses and a taste for remuneration regardless of the results of work."



Soviet tank in Afghanistan. the uncertain future of a nation plagued by inefficiency and corruption

At the same time, Andropov announced a series of industrial reforms—which Western observers greeted with skepticism—aimed at increasing productivity, speeding up the introduction of new technology and improving the quality of goods. The reforms were modelled closely on those introduced in Hungary and East Germany, where the Kremlin has given industrial leaders a measure of autonomy in fixing quotas and wage scales. But most experts dismissed the Soviet measures as vague and superficial. Said one Western diplomat: "Moscow will still retain considerable power and will be able to step in and give orders if it is not happy with what a particular manager is doing."

Andropov initiated those tentative reforms just before he disappeared from public view in August. His withdrawal from active participation in Politburo meetings, many observers believe, abruptly halted the economic momentum that had begun to develop, although one Andropov speech, read to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in December, claimed that the reform measures were beginning to work. That speech asserted that Andropov intended to press on with his strategy. He declared that "everything necessary has been envisaged to maintain the country's defence capacity" during the campaign to "satiate the market with the necessary manufactured goods." Still, the speech added, "Industry is extremely slow in readjusting itself to the manufacture of modern consumer goods."

Acute: One Sovietologist, Marshall Goldman, associate director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, said that it is unlikely Andropov's stand-ins had any real desire to press ahead with his reforms. Added Goldman: "The Politburo was very cautious about doing anything to further his policies because no one knew if he would be back."

Andropov's major policy thrust was directed at meeting the material needs of an increasingly demanding society through higher productivity—without diminishing the Soviet Union's military capabilities. But he also faced disturbing realities in the country's health and education systems. A report by the U.S. Joint Economic Committee of Congress last May concluded that the Soviet health care system is responsible for decreasing life expectancy, decreasing fertility and increasing infant mortality. The report said that the country suffers from an acute shortage of doctors, hospital beds, medicine and other supplies. It added that health care centres are equally scarce.

Last month an official Soviet announcement of changes in the educational system acknowledged that parents are dissatisfied with failing educational standards and that there is official concern over a possible lack of skilled manpower in the future. As well, last June Andropov charged that teachers were not properly trained and that schools were turning out inadequately educated pupils in the country's 142,000 primary and high schools.

Risk: The new educational plan recommends that all children, regardless of their mother tongue, should master Russian by the time they leave high school. That new policy, observers say, is a direct response to what may become Moscow's greatest future problem. The birthrate in Soviet Central Asia is so much greater than in Russia that some demographers estimate that by the end of the century two out of every three births will occur in Moslem areas. One projection indicates that by that time one-third of all military recruits and nearly all young people joining the work force will be Moslems because of the declining size of Russian families.

The potential risk of the Soviets losing control over those Moslem areas is a growing concern in the Kremlin. And some experts contend that Soviet efforts to assimilate the country's ethnic minorities have already failed to such an extent that Central Asia may have to be cut loose altogether.

Yuri Andropov's chief legacy to the Soviet Union may have been his attempts to shift the responsibility for solving the nation's domestic problems onto younger, more professional shoulders. In his brief term of office dozens of key party and government officials were replaced. Still, said one Western diplomat in Moscow last week, "It is hard to make generalizations about what the changes mean." Last Thursday, when Andropov died, it became even more difficult.

—ANN FINLAYSON *in Toronto, with correspondents' files.*

cally high profile, visiting factories, greeting foreign dignitaries and issuing warnings to the United States about the dangers inherent in U.S. military and nuclear policy, particularly in Europe. He even attempted to soften his otherwise stern image by inviting an 11-year-old American schoolgirl named Samantha Smith to be his guest for two weeks so she could see for herself that the Soviet people were generous and peace-loving. Samantha, who had earlier written Andropov to ask why his country wanted to make war with here, made the trip to Moscow and toured the country. But she did not meet the Soviet leader, probably because he had suffered a health setback.



Andropov speaking in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses: a very secret life

Cemented his grip: Still, Andropov was able to achieve in scarcely more than six months an honor that had taken Brezhnev 13 years to accomplish: election as president of the Soviet Union, a largely ceremonial position. Andropov won that final honor on June 16, cementing his grip on power.

Throughout his brief term, relations between Moscow and Washington declined steadily as Reagan and Andropov both refused to soften their hard-line stands. Andropov failed in his long-held objective of preventing the deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. Their deployment began on schedule in December as the Soviets broke off crucial Geneva-based talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons. By that time Andropov was only nominally in charge, although the Soviet government continued to issue edicts in his name and to insist that he was suffering nothing more than a heavy cold. But he had not been seen in public since Aug. 18, when he met a group of U.S. senators. He missed the Nov. 7 parade honoring the 1917 Revolution, and he was widely rumored to be dying.

Andropov, who began the year by forcing Soviet workers to increase production and by making the bureaucracy function more smoothly for the first time in memory, ended it hobbled by health problems and unable to achieve many of his economic goals at home or diplomatic objectives abroad. His death was almost an anticlimax. It caused barely a ripple on Western money markets and was treated almost as a routine development in foreign capitals, at least partly because it had been so widely forecast. For a man whose life had scaled the summit of power in the second-greatest nation on earth, death was, by contrast, only an agonized whimper.

With Keith Charles in Moscow, Carol Goar in Ottawa, Carol Kennedy in London, Peter Lewis in Brussels, William Lowther in Washington and Marci McDonald in Paris.

A tragedy of missed opportunities

By Harrison Salisbury

The brief career of Yuri Andropov as leader of the Soviet Union can only go down in history as a tragedy of missed opportunities and doomed aspirations.

Probably no leader in the 67 years since the Bolshevik revolution was better qualified to tackle the enormous problems that face the Soviet state than Andropov. And no man, as events have demonstrated, had less chance to utilize his capacity for dealing with them.

Some have said that Andropov's career as leader—it lasted about 15 months—was so short that he will end up as only a footnote to history. This may be so. But it will be a footnote of frustration. This will be so regardless of the fact that Andropov's successor probably will follow, in general, much the same path and adopt much the same policies.

Rigorous regime: To gain some measure of the tragedy of Andropov's fleeting appearance on the world stage, one must assess the qualities he brought to high office and the hopes Russians invested in him. No Soviet leader had a better understanding and underlying knowledge of the United States than Andropov, even though he did not have the opportunities of the late Nikita Khrushchev for first-hand observation.

Andropov was an educated, literate person, not a doctrinaire in any sense. This does not mean he was a non-Marxist. It means that he made realistic and pragmatic approaches to solutions. He was Soviet ambassador to Hungary at the time of the Budapest uprising in 1956 and it was he, in the confirmed opinions of many Hungarians, including dedicated anti-Communists, who sponsored what developed into the relatively liberal regime of János Kádár.

Despite his rigorous regime as head of the KGB, many Soviet intellectuals welcomed his rise, seeing in him a man who they believed was capable of discrimination and of permitting a wider range of creativity than had been possible during the Brezhnev era.

In foreign policy there were hopes in Moscow that with the death of the doddering Leonid Brezhnev, a vigorous and innovative Andropov could break the spiral of Soviet failure on the international scene and even, with good luck, begin to attack the dangerous hostility that had emerged in U.S.-Soviet relations and halt the erosion of Soviet international prestige that had accompanied Afghanistan and Poland.

All—or almost all—these expectations failed. The prime cause, clearly, was the abrupt decline in Andropov's health that set in within two months. He moved off to a fast start. He utilized the Brezhnev funeral to get under way a whirlwind of diplomacy. He set a new and friendly note in talks with China's then foreign minister, Huang Hua. He impressed European statesmen. The only sour note was the absence of President Reagan.

This was followed by another whirlwind—a domestic whirlwind which brought to an abrupt end the corruption and toadyism that had flourished under Brezhnev. Slackers and loafers were fired from factories. Absenteeism was cut. There were even gains in production.

A start was made at reducing pressures in Poland. Lech Walesa was freed. Andropov expressed to diplomats a strong interest in measures to resolve the intractable Afghan question. The big sticking point, of course, remained the United States. As can now be seen, Andropov attempted to maintain some initiative even after his kidneys broke down and he went on dialysis just a year ago now. But it was a task beyond his strength. He found himself up against an implacable Ronald Reagan, who pushed harder and harder in what amounted to an all-out diplomatic and propaganda blitz against the Soviets. Reagan's "evil empire" appelation was followed by the worldwide (and extremely effective) U.S. propaganda triumph resulting from the Soviet shooting down of Korean airline flight 007 in September, 1983.



SOVFOTO/TASS

The ailing Andropov: a footnote of frustration

Hazardous: Today, the task of Andropov's successor is graver than Andropov's was. None of the domestic problems have been solved. Only a few barnacles have been chipped away. On the international front the crisis has deepened to the point at which people in Moscow once more are beginning to feel the cold war psychology of the Stalin period which they thought had finally been left behind.

The problems were difficult enough in November, 1982, when Andropov first came into his powerful office. Now they seem almost impossible. Some of those issues, including relations with the United States, will require years of arduous, painful, hazardous work.

And, as many Soviet citizens feel, the Andropov year has all been so useless. The accident of disease has robbed them of a possible generation of progress and has swept them once again to that peril point where the brink of nuclear warfare looms far too closely and far too clearly.

Worst of all, the peril inherent in the missed opportunities of Andropov's brief days is shared by the whole world. For the tension and trauma in U.S.-Soviet relations means tension and trauma for all of us.

Harrison Salisbury is a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist and author who spent many years living in, and reporting on, the Soviet Union, primarily for The New York Times. *His best-known book on the subject is* The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad, *published in 1969.*

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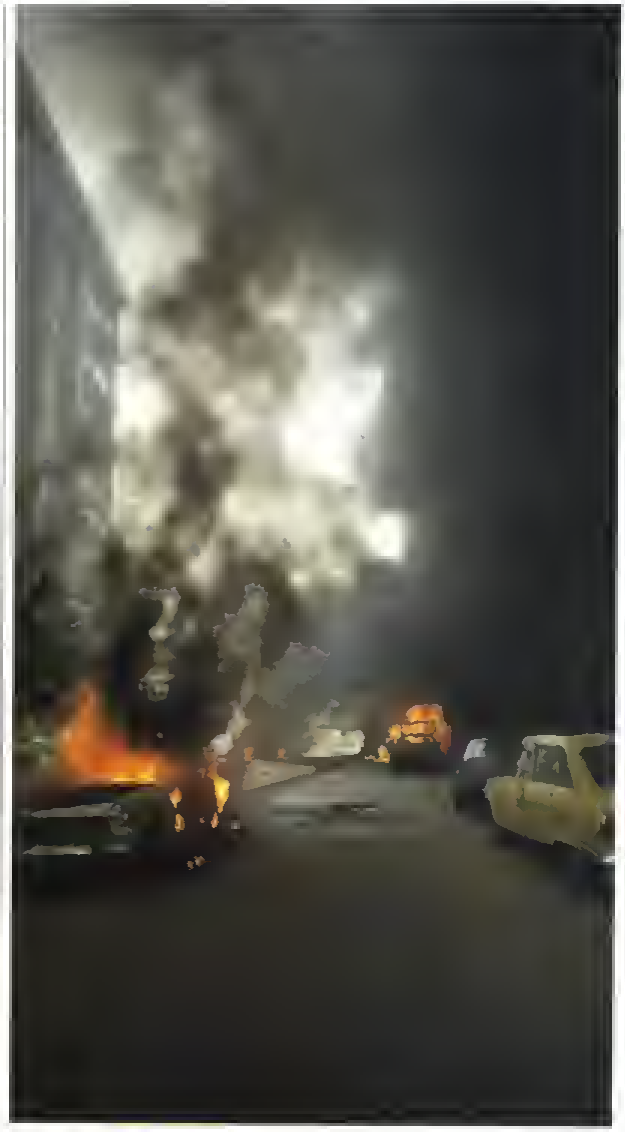
The collapse of a nation

By Arthur Johnson

Lebanon tore itself apart in a bloody civil struggle last week that U.S. guns and a four-nation peacekeeping force could not prevent. The capital had been ripped in half. Islamic militiamen, reinforced by 14,000 Lebanese Army deserters and backed by Syrian forces, had seized control of Moslem West Beirut. The United States and Italy prepared to follow Britain's example and withdraw their peacekeeping forces from the ruined city. Druze and Shi'ite militias shelled Christian East Beirut. But an ominous silence reigned at the presidential palace in the eastern suburbs of the city. There was not a word from President Amin Gemayel, upon whose slight shoulders the political future of Lebanon's dominant—and minority—Christians and a substantial portion of U.S. Middle East policy once rested.

The Lebanese have suffered through nine years of sporadic uprisings, conflicts and factional disputes. In 1982 they endured an invasion by Israel. That led to the arrival of the peacekeeping forces and a shaky international agreement which helped to sustain the Gemayel regime. But the latest uprising was something new—in effect, a revolution against the government. As a result, Gemayel's position seemed untenable. He dispatched a five-man mission to Damascus to talk over possible solutions to the dilemma. U.S. official sources said that he might appease Moslem opposition leaders by abrogating an agreement signed last May with Israel that allows for a phased withdrawal of Israeli troops from south Lebanon. They added that he might also offer Moslems broader representation in the Lebanese government.

Killed: The crisis precipitated emergency meetings in London, Paris, Rome and Washington. It also presented U.S. President Ronald Reagan with a foreign policy dilemma that may haunt his administration through the nine months before the election and beyond. As Gemayel took refuge behind the sturdy walls of his palace, the United States distanced itself from its peacekeeping allies by backing Lebanon's embattled ruler with tough words in Washington and a deadly barrage of shelling from warships, including the battleship New



Beirut in flames: a full-scale civil war



Troops evacuating American civilians; wounded Lebanese receiving help (opposite) a major reversal for U.S. foreign policy

SPECIAL REPORT

Jersey, off Beirut. ABC News reported that the New Jersey's 1,900-lb shells killed the commanding general of all Syrian forces in Lebanon and some members of his staff. But U.S. state and defense department officials could not confirm the reports.

Careened: The Moslem assault on West Beirut took the world by surprise, despite nine years of bitter fighting in and around the agonized city. Until last week the Lebanese Army seemed to be holding its own while opposing Christian Phalangists, and Moslems attempted to rule the divided city under the watchful eyes of Western peacekeeping troops. But the beginning of the end came when Sunni Moslem Prime Minister Shafik al-Wazzan and his cabinet resigned. The sporadic attacks by Moslem militias in Beirut and Syrian artillery in Lebanon's eastern hills immediately erupted into a full-scale civil war. A burst of rocket fire and the rattling of small arms set off a blind, panicked stampede of motorists, honking incessantly as they hurtled out of the commercial centre of West Beirut. Cars jumped onto sidewalks and careened off buildings and into other vehicles as screaming clusters of fleeing pedestrians scrambled to avoid death. Soon the fight died in the city as smoke from grenades, rockets and guns mixed with the fumes from burning buildings.

Within minutes the streets were abandoned to the Moslem militias, Lebanese Army regulars and the few right-wing Christian Phalangist militiamen who did not hide at the first sound of gunfire, a trait that earned them the title "chocolate soldiers." Many Lebanese Army regulars also slipped away. By midweek about half had either deserted or defected. For many, it was not a lack of spirit but a question of faith. Almost 70 per cent of the 32,000-strong army rank and file are Moslem, while almost all officers are Christian. Put to the test, many Moslem soldiers did not fire on their coreligionists in the attacking militia teams. Some simply went to their homes and changed into civilian clothing. Others exchanged their army uniforms for militia garb.

As the Moslem militias pressed their assault, West Beirut suffered the most savage bombardment in the past nine years of civil strife. For 20 hours Lebanese Army artillery and tanks pounded apartment blocks, banks, commercial buildings and relief agencies such as the Red Cross. The Shi'ite Amal militia and other Moslem groups were completely outgunned and outnumbered, but in an urban war might did not prevail. Within a day it was clear that the rebel militias had won. The Moslem insurgents had seized the 10-square-mile western sector of the capital. Long lines of army deserters formed at Bourj el-Berajneh Secondary School, a pink building in West Beirut, and turned in their U.S.-made M-16 rifles as they gave their names to Amal militiamen.

Turned: The deserters included Sgt. Omar, a distinctive Lebanese whose bright red hair and freckles were a sharp contrast to the green beret that signalled his status in the Lebanese Special Forces. Omar, one of 60 members of an 80-man unit to turn himself in at the school, spoke bitterly of the frustration of being a Moslem in a Christian-dominated army and country. "Now we are relaxed," he said, after embracing the militia cause. "Now we are waiting for our rights." Elsewhere in West Beirut other erstwhile enemies suddenly became comrades. Lebanese soldiers and Moslem militiamen slapped each other on the back, grinning and laughing as they kissed in the Arab fashion. Joint army and Amal militia patrols took over former army positions. Then Moslem militiamen destroyed whisky and gin bottles in bars in a bout of Islamic-rooted temperance. Telephone lines were ripped or burned, and Beirut airport was closed.

In Washington the crisis caught Vice-President George Bush at a hockey game between the Edmonton Oilers and the Washington Capitals. While Bush admired the puck-handling pyrotechnics of Oiler Wayne Gretzky, an aide whispered in his ear. The vice-president promptly left for the White House, where Reagan was waiting to hold a National Security Council meeting. After almost two hours Reagan and his team decided to withdraw the American troops to the relative safety of ships offshore. They argued that the move would still the increasing calls from Democrats, Republicans and the American public to get out of Beirut. But to put the best face on the abandonment of Gemayel, Bush proposed that the United States broaden its mandate for military action by air and sea—that is, that it should hammer Syrian strongholds east of Beirut with naval guns while attacking other targets with jet fighters. Reagan embraced the strategy, as did Secretary of State George Shultz, a firm believer in a continued U.S. role in Lebanon as a crucial component in the administration's Middle East policy.

As Reagan headed to California for a vacation at his hilltop ranch, officials handed reporters a carefully worded statement setting out the double-edged decision. It declared that Reagan opposed "yielding to violence." The move would "take the initiative away from the terrorists." Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, insisted stiffly that the United States would not "cut and run."

Still, Reagan's announcement marked a major reversal of policy. As recently as two weeks ago he had insisted that the United States would "stand tall" in Lebanon. Last week he termed the withdrawal a "redeployment," but it is unlikely that the Marines will ever return.

Smarting: Initially, both his supporters and critics endorsed the move, but Reagan faced a fierce and bipartisan backlash late last week. Members of Congress expressed alarm at the vagueness of the withdrawal timetable and anger at the acceleration of U.S. military involvement. Said Trent Lott, Republican whip in the House of Representatives: "The administration is not in touch with reality." And Maryland Democrat Clarence B. Long observed ironically that Reagan "has got us out deeper." Former vice-president Walter Mondale, front-running candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, criticized Reagan for being inaccessible during the crisis. "We need a president in command. We need our questions answered, not just for ourselves but for the world," said Mondale.

Still smarting from criticism about the lack of notice and consultation with other countries before invading Grenada, the United States attempted to paper over its troop withdrawal with what one British official described as an avalanche of telegrams to London, Paris and Rome. But Britain remained displeased. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government made it clear that, after deciding to withdraw its 115-man force, it could not get a decision on withdrawal from Washington until after Parliament had adjourned for the day. At 10 Downing Street, Thatcher held three meetings, beginning at breakfast, while delaying announcing a withdrawal until she had heard from Washington. Thatcher was not amused when Reagan announced his decision while flying off to his ranch. She had been pressing for a joint statement by the four peacekeeping nations on coordinated action.

Italy and France shared the British concerns. The Europeans were determined not to act unilaterally but could not persuade the United States to issue a joint statement about the multilateral force's future. To calm mounting resentment, Washington dispatched U.S. Undersecretary of State Robert Murphy, who has special responsibility for the Middle East, to European





HOAGLAND GAMMA LIAISON



AZAR GAMMA LIAISON

Departing U.S. marines; rebel fighters (below): tough talk and a deadly barrage

capitals. Bush, for his part, met Thatcher on Saturday at the prime minister's Chequers residence.

The collapse of the Gemayel government also caused ripples of unease in Jerusalem. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir conferred repeatedly with U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis before convening an emergency midweek session of cabinet. The discussion took place in secret after Shamir's ruling that the meeting was a special session of the ministerial defence committee. But at week's end Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens made it clear in a television interview that Israel, mired in economic quicksand, would not intervene. Arens said that Israel would not tolerate a return of the Palestine Liberation Organization to Lebanon's Chouf Mountains, which the Israeli army vacated last September. But Arens added, "We will not go to war to support one side or another in Lebanon."

Like so many of his soldiers and Christian militia supporters, Gemayel disappeared early in the crisis. He was last seen in public on Feb. 5, before the resignation of Prime Minister al-Wazzan. But, in hopes of averting disaster, Gemayel made a desperate televised appeal offering a resumption of suspended peace talks between the factions in Geneva. In a 25-minute address, he said that proposals for changes in the legislature, executive and judicial branches of government were open to debate. After months of stonewalling the demands of impatient Moslems, he declared, "Nothing is sacred."

As the week wore on, Gemayel's position seemed ever more hopeless. Israel rebuffed a Lebanese envoy dispatched to plead for help in routing the rebels. There also seemed little likelihood that Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salam's urgent mission to enlist Saudi Arabia as a mediator would succeed.

Escapade: Canada, the United States and Britain began airlifts of embassy staff and other civilians out of Beirut. Late last week British helicopters flew 26 Canadians out of the city and delivered them to the auxiliary ship HMS Reliant off the Lebanese coast. Later the Canadians, including 11 embassy employees and their three dependents, flew to a British base in Cyprus. Earlier in the week Canadian Ambassador David Jackson and his driver escaped unharmed after gunmen accosted them as they entered Jackson's apartment in East Beirut. The evacuation left the Canadian Embassy with a skeleton staff of nine, including Jackson, who said, "We are hoping to keep things working normally, provided things remain settled and there are no threats, implied or actual."

The isolated Gemayel kept his own counsel and met with U.S. special envoy Donald Rumsfeld in attempts to salvage his presidency. But in Washington Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum, a member of the Senate foreign relations committee, said, "There is not going to be a Gemayel government, in my book, in 24 hours." In Damascus Druze leader Walid Jumblatt said that Gemayel should either resign or commit suicide. If he did not, Jumblatt indicated, Lebanon's victorious Moslem militias would take Gemayel's fate into their own hands.

With David Bernstein in Jerusalem, Gilbert Lewthwaite and William Lowther in Washington, Marci McDonald in Paris, Susan Riley in Ottawa and Robin Wright in Beirut.

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SPECIAL REPORT

Gemayel fights for his life and country

In Pierre Gemayel's East Beirut apartment office the picture of his son, Amin, in a black leather frame with the embossed gold crest of Lebanon on the top, is signed in French, "To Mama and Papa, to whom I owe everything." The inscription and the crest underline Amin's dual loyalties—and the key question of the past 17 months: whether Amin is first his father's son, committed to Phalange supremacy, or the president of Lebanon, dedicated to reconciliation of the country's warring factions.

Amin Gemayel's dream was to be both. When he took office as Lebanon's president on Sept. 23, 1982—just nine days after an assassin's bomb had killed his 34-year-old brother, president-elect Bashir Gemayel—Amin proclaimed his goal "To free Lebanon of foreign occupation and to build a pluralist Lebanese society where individuals matter and where the purpose of the state is the protection of the right of its citizens to live in peace and abundance." Last week, 17 months later, that promise was further than ever from fulfilment. Amin's presidency was tottering amid accusations from his opponents that he had never had the will to implement his goal of true unity. Said a leading Shi'ite banker: "Amin feels threatened by having anyone around him with an independent base of power. So instead he has yes-men who tell him exactly what he wants to hear."

Fraught: At the time of Gemayel's election, Washington considered him to be Lebanon's best hope of averting civil war. But his background always seemed to cast doubt on the assertion. His father, the patriarchal Pierre Gemayel, now stooped and frail at 79, is president of the ruling right-wing Christian Phalange Party, which he founded in 1936. The Gemayels are Maronite Christians, the traditional foes of Lebanon's Shia and Druze tribes.

The blood feud has been a driving force throughout most of Pierre Gemayel's adult life. As a Maronite whose ancestors fought the country's Turkish Ottoman rulers, Pierre Gemayel had personal reasons to hate his Moslem neighbors. When he was only 9, the Turks sentenced his father and uncle to death in 1914, and his mother had to move the family to Egypt until the end of the First World War. Gemayel graduated from the French School of Medicine in Beirut and became a pharmacist. On a tour of Nazi Germany in 1936, he was impressed by the organization of German Youth groups and the structure of Nazi society. Later that year, when Pierre Gemayel and a group of young Maronite friends founded the Christian Phalange Party, Germany and the fascist movements of Francisco Franco in Spain and Benito Mussolini in Italy served as models.



Gemayel, a nation disintegrating and waves of terror

A godfather-like figure in Lebanese politics ever since, Pierre Gemayel led the Phalangist militia in Lebanon's bloody 1975-76 civil war. He consolidated power to back his conviction that the country's stability depended on the maintenance of Christian dominance until it became a true secular state. He also groomed his two sons to carry on the family's role in Lebanese politics. Amin and Bashir Gemayel inherited their father's politics—and the backing of his political and military power. But their personalities and their approaches to Lebanon's problems were not identical.

Jesuit-trained Bashir, six years the younger, began his career as commander of a small Phalangist militia group and rose to prominence during the civil war, in which he led a savage battle over the Palestinian Tal Zastar refugee camp. Afterward, his troops massacred the camp's survivors. Four years later his men shot a rival Christian leader and machine-gunned 300 of his supporters. Bashir aligned himself with Israel, which helped train and finance his 20,000-man militia. That enraged Moslem leaders, who called for a boycott of the 1982 presidential election in which he was the only candidate.

Strongman: Bashir Gemayel survived two assassination attempts, one of which killed his 18-month-old daughter. But in a third attempt a 75-lb. bomb demolished Phalangist party headquarters in East Beirut and killed him and 25 of his supporters, bringing his brother into sudden prominence. But unlike Bashir, Amin Gemayel seemed ill-suited to the role of strongman. Although he had served as a member of parliament for 12 years, Amin Gemayel had turned his energies to running the family's considerable shipping and insurance interests and to founding a conservative, French-language newspaper, *Le Reveil*. His reputation as a wheeler-dealer was best captured in his nickname—"Mr. 10 Per Cent." During the civil war Amin defied his brother by maintaining contact with Moslem and Palestine Liberation Organization leaders. He also supported the presence of Palestinian civilians in Lebanon as long as events prevented their return to their homeland. That record, as well as Amin's thoughtful manner, seemed to offer some hope for the future. But his style and his divided loyalties did not equip him to handle the combined assaults of Lebanon's competing clans and international power politics. —ANN FINLAYSON *in Toronto, with Robin Wright in Beirut*

WESTERN AFRICA

Hunger on the desert's edge

When nomadic herder Issa Ouedrago awakens in the blasting heat of an Upper Volta morning, he routinely begins another fruitless day scrounging for food across the drought-ravaged countryside. His wife and six children are slowly starving to death. His 10 emaciated cattle graze lethargically over the near-naked brown earth. Each day he makes the eight-kilometre journey to a nearby town to receive emergency food supplies. Issa lives in the Sahel, a semiarid zone south of the Sahara which is undergoing the worst drought in a decade. The famine threatens the lives of as many as 27 million people. Last week United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar issued an appeal for international relief in the Sahel after touring the scorched region. Without it, he declared, huge numbers of people will die of hunger. For Issa's wife, Aminata, the uncertain wait for relief is her family's last hope. "We are tired," she says, "but what else are we to do?"

In the drought-ravaged continent, from Cape Verde Island through the Sudan to Mozambique, 150 million people in 24 nations urgently need at least 1.6 million tons of food to survive. That figure is twice the amount needed 10 years ago, when a similar famine stalked Africa, killing as many as 300,000 people. At the time, Western nations responded with $7.5 billion in aid. But the region has never recovered, and rainfall has been abnormally low. "We are still dealing with the same drought," said one senior official. "It's a reality that has never left."

The cause of the famine is a combination of natural disaster and human error. The Sahel (Arabic for "edge of the desert") has always experienced uneven precipitation: from 1940 to 1975 parts of Mali experienced only four years of average rainfall. At the same time, overcutting of coastal rain forests for fuel and lumber has removed a vital "anchor" for moisture in the ground and the atmosphere. As a result, dry winds known as the Harmatten have blown sand from the Sahara Desert south at a rate of 200 km a year.

Throughout the Sahel the disaster has sparked grave social and economic problems. Northern Senegalese tribes travelling south in search of food have clashed with local residents protecting their own meagre stocks. In Abidjan, the capital of the Ivory Coast, hundreds of displaced tribesmen from Niger beg silently in the streets. In Ghana falling water levels behind the vast Akosombo Dam on the Volta River have forced officials to shut down turbines that supply the country, along with neighboring Benin and Upper Volta, with 65 per cent of their electricity. Blackouts, almost a daily occurrence, are crippling the economies of the African nations at a time when they urgently need foreign currency to buy food.

Canada has so far pledged $125 million in assistance to the drought-stricken African nations over the next five years, while the United States has earmarked another $500 million. But aid workers and African leaders agree that longtime relief must shift to genuine development. With rational programs for agriculture, water management and reforestation, they contend, the Sahel could feed its inhabitants. But faced with the immediate challenge of keeping millions of starving people alive, neither African nor Western leaders have the opportunity to undertake long-term solutions to underlying conditions. —LYSE DOUCET *in Abidjan*

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HABANS/SYGMA

Team Canada on the way to victory over the United States last week: advancing to the medal round without two mates

SPORTS

Snowed under in Sarajevo

By Hal Quinn

In Sarajevo early last week, birds sang in the springlike air and on tiny farms outside the city sheep nibbled at cones of stacked hay. Typically, a polite guide looked to the sky and exclaimed: "No snow. Sorry." But by midweek Yugoslavs did not have to make any apology for the XIV Olympic Winter Games. To the delight of organizers, the snow fell and fell. Houses took on new shapes, traffic ground to a halt, and so did much of the Games—except for the indoor sports and the international deals.

At the end of the first four days of competition, East Germany and the Soviet Union led in the medal count. Canada stood seventh. For Canada the opening days produced mixed blessings. Long-distance speed skating specialist Gaetan Boucher won Canada's only medal of the first week with a surprising third-place finish in the 500-m sprint. With two longer races to come this week, Ste-Foy, Quebec's Boucher aspired to become the first Canadian in Games history to win more than two individual medals. Boucher, however, was realistic about the likely impact of his success. "Speed skating is not a glamorous sport," he allowed. "Being a Canadian hero is not up to me. And if I were an English Canadian, it could be different."

In hockey action Canada advanced to the medal round after a crucial 4-2 win Saturday against Finland. Earlier, Canada routed Austria 8-1 and scored a 4-2 triumph over the tense skaters from the United States.

In figure skating, by contrast, the nation's hopes sank when attractive pairs skaters Barbara Underhill and Paul Martini crashed to the ice during the short program. Skating to the beat of Gene Krupa's *Sing, Sing, Sing*, Underhill missed one of the simplest required manoeuvres—a sit spin—and the couple landed disappointingly in sixth place going into Sunday's decisive free-skating program.

On Mount Bjelašnica and Mount Jahorina the long-awaited men's and woman's downhill races were delayed because of 80-m.p.h. winds and drifting snow. As a result, Canadians were mostly concerned about what took place indoors. The action began before the opening hockey game, when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) ruled that two Canadian players were ineligible because they had played some games in the National Hockey League. Canada's minister of amateur sports, Jacques Olivier, met with the Calgary Olympic Committee to deal with the dispute about funding (the 1988 Games (following story). Olivier, a friend of Montreal Canadiens' General Manager Serge Savard, also met with his counterparts from the Soviet Union to discuss the possibility that goalie Vladislav Tretiak might play in the NHL.

The Olympic idea of amateurism has been in jeopardy since the first athletic hero was worshipped. In what Hockey Canada hoped would be a first step in opening the 1988 Calgary Olympics to professional players, the team took on four players who had signed professional contracts. On the eve of the Games, the Finns protested. The IOC then decided that a player who had played even one brief shift in the NHL was ineligible. As a result, Canada lost forward Mark Morrison and defenceman Don Dietrich hours before the opening match against the United States. Curiously, Toronto-born Richard Cunningham of the Austrian team, who played more than 300 games in the now defunct World Hockey Association, was not affected by the IOC ruling. Although Team Canada skated without Morrison and Dietrich, it enjoyed the loyalty of an impromptu fan club—a group of eight young Yugoslavs who fashioned a 10-foot by 4-foot banner resembling a flag with the exhortation "Go Cdn" on the red borders. ABC television disliked every minute of the display. At the height of the ratings period back home, ABC banked heavily on hockey—and the dream that the U.S. hockey team would repeat its miraculous gold-medal performance of 1980 at Lake Placid. Two days later, after the Czechs defeated the United States 4-1, hopes for a medal of any color were dashed.

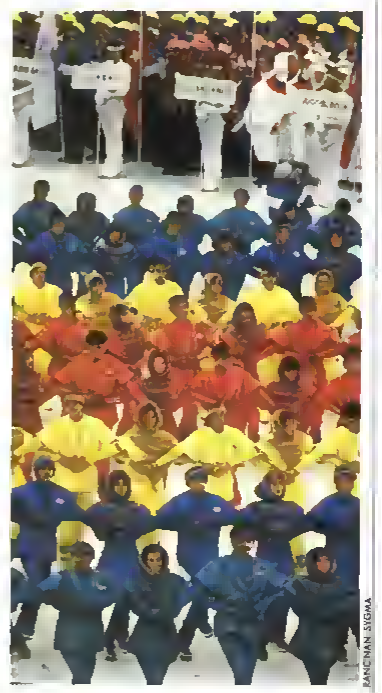
The Canadiens' Savard was more encouraged by his stay in Sarajevo. When the Canadiens drafted 32-year-old Tretiak last year, hockey insiders regarded it as a fruitless gesture. While the Soviets have released some of their international players to professional leagues in Europe and Japan, none of them has been in his prime.

Before the Games, Tretiak, arguably the best goalie in the world, invoked supreme authority when reporters asked him if he would join the Canadiens. "Only God knows," he replied. Late last week Ottawa's Olivier emerged from a meeting with Vladimirovitch Gramov, president of the committee for physical culture and sports of the Soviet Union, and told a hastily called press conference in the lobby of the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo, "It appears that we can sign an agreement within a few weeks or a month." Said Savard. "I think that we have some chance to get Tretiak. I don't think the chances are that great, but now I guess I'm more optimistic. But I don't know if it's really up to Tretiak." Savard said that Tretiak had not been given a contract but a "proposal." Then he added, "Now we just wait for a 'yes' or a 'no'."

Tretiak, however, claimed not to know about the proposal. When Gramov handed Tretiak the proposal, he asked the goalie, "Have you seen this before?" Tretiak's response: "*Nyet*." At the end of week one, the Canadian team was solidly on course for its best Olympics since 1932. The Americans, on the other hand, had won no medals, and ABC no Emmy Awards.

A dispute about funds

Ralph Klein, mayor of Calgary, the host of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games, marvelled at the spectacular Yugoslavian curtain raiser in Sarajevo last week. "Socialist countries can do opening ceremonies better than anyone else," he said, after the XIV Games formally began. The mayor was particularly moved by the 2,500 university and high school students who moved like a rainbow during the inspiring finale. He was also impressed by the hordes of cleanup volunteers—including a busload of medical students—the ban on cars downtown and the efficient bus system which brought 60,000 spectators to Kosevo Stadium for the show. "If we closed off the downtown core of Calgary," the mayor said, "there would be an absolute uproar. We just couldn't get away with it."



RANCINAN/SYGMA

The opening ceremonies: a rainbow for the finale

Canadian officials last week turned to the task of cleaning up their political act for 1988. Mayor Klein admitted that he is caught in the middle between "two very powerful and opposite political forces"—Prime Minister Trudeau's Liberals and Premier Peter Lougheed's Conservatives. The latest controversy about the Calgary Games involved the funding. In Sarajevo, Lougheed, the new federal minister of amateur sports, Jacques Olivier, Klein and the Calgary Organizing Committee met to deal with the matter.

After the financial fiasco of the Montreal Summer Games in 1976, all levels of government are concerned about cost overruns. The 16,700-seat Calgary Olympic Saddledome, built for hockey and figure skating in 1988 and the first completed project, came in $16 million over budget. Calgary organizers argue that because the University of Calgary will use athletes' residences for dormitories after the 1988 Games it should cover any cost overruns. The federal government alone contends that cost overruns on projects it funds should be covered by reducing funds for other sites.

At the heart of last week's debate was the disposition of any surplus the Games might generate and a $200-million federal grant. The Calgary Olympic Organizing Committee insists on control of any surplus, so does the federal government. Lougheed, Klein and Calgary Olympic Committee Chairman Frank King debated the issue with Olivier in Sarajevo. Klein admitted that he and the sports minister "had some harsh words." He added, "But we have decided that it is time to cool things and talk about it again after these Olympics."

Although the very thought of a surplus from an Olympic Games is unusual, it became a realistic possibility when the ABC television network bid an unprecedented $309 million (U.S.) for the American TV rights to the Calgary Games, compared to $91.5 million for Sarajevo. The Canadian Olympic Committee wants to use any surplus to create an Olympic endowment to maintain facilities and provide training and financing only for Olympic athletes. In contrast, the federal government maintains that it has the right to dispense any surplus funds as it sees fit through Sport Canada.

There was also lingering confusion last week about how to spend Ottawa's $200-million grant for the 1988 Games. After a two-hour meeting with Olivier in Sarajevo, King was hopeful that differences can be resolved. At least that may prove easier than closing downtown Calgary for the opening ceremonies in 1988 or persuading a busload of medical students to clean the press centre. —HAL QUINN *in Sarajevo*

A western-designed shelter



The port at Squamish, Wyman: eastern admiration for a unique financing plan

By James Fleming

Robert Wyman, an eminent Vancouver investment dealer, is accustomed to impressing the financial czars of Toronto and Montreal. The diminutive 53-year-old chairman of Pemberton Houston Willoughby Inc. has orchestrated several corporate financing deals which have inspired the envy of his eastern counterparts. He has also proven that regional dealers have the resources and expertise to manage large-scale corporate share offerings. Now, Wyman has developed a new investment program called the Western Pulp plan. Essentially it is a refinancing plan that will result in the revitalization of two pulp mills on the West Coast and probably will produce handsome rewards for the individual investors, companies and banks involved. The only assured loser will be Revenue Canada.

In effect, Wyman has perfected a program that ranks as the largest publicly offered tax shelter in Canadian corporate history. In the process he has helped to make possible a $214-million renovation program now under way at Squamish Pulp Mill, a run-down operation 65 km north of Vancouver, and a $15-million overhaul of the Port Alice Pulp Mill on Vancouver Island. To accomplish his objective Wyman borrowed an idea formerly used in the film, real estate and oil drilling businesses—offering limited partnerships in a company to investors in a way that allows them to write off most of their investment within three years. It is the first time that the program—with a few ingenious financing tricks thrown in—has been used to revitalize existing plant facilities. As James Pitblado, chairman of Toronto-based Dominion Securities Ames Ltd., said, "It is the application of a known form of financing with very unique twists in it."

Wyman, an impeccably dressed financier who has built Pemberton into the West Coast's largest investment firm, conceived of the plan in October, 1982, for the financially troubled Western Forest Products Ltd. of Vancouver. WFP had been a steady money loser for its three joint owners, British Columbia Forest Products (BCFP), Doman Industries Ltd. and Whonnock Industries Ltd., which in 1980 borrowed $180 million to buy their shares in the company, then known as Rayonier Canada. Under the Pemberton plan, investors were offered limited partnerships in a new company, Western Pulp Inc., a subsidiary of WFP. In return for buying a minimum of 10 partnership units for $1,000 each, an investor in the 50.5-per-cent tax bracket can write off $15,000 of the investment by 1987. What is more, between 1987 and 1990 investors have the option of converting their partnership units into common shares of BCFP, Doman and Whonnock. There is one major risk involved: if Western Pulp loses money, the value of the partnership units will drop, and each unit could then be swapped only for a lesser number of the forestry firms' common shares.

Still, investors have snapped up the units. When the offering closed in December, the public had bought $89.5 million in units, and two banks involved in planning the scheme—the Royal Bank and the Toronto Dominion—had purchased an additional $20.5 million. For the forest product companies, the benefits are substantial: without the program the Squamish Pulp Mill would still be in serious trouble. As well, both mills needed renovations, and the Squamish rebuilding alone will produce 400 jobs. The bankers involved are also pleased. As part of the deal they will be able to convert half of the $480 million owed to them by WFP into the firm's common and preferred shares.



But officials at Revenue Canada were not enamored of at least one aspect of the deal. One of its conditions is that if Western Pulp runs into financial difficulties, investors are obliged to provide the company with a further $550 for each $1,000 unit they own. Because of that risk, they can immediately claim $1.55 as a tax write-off for each $1 they invest. Tax officials approved those terms in Western Pulp's case but in late December they took steps to ensure that in future tax write-off deals, only $1 can be claimed for each dollar invested.

Ward Pitfield, chairman of Pitfield Mackay Ross Ltd., which helped to fine tune the offering, along with Dominion Securities Ames Ltd. and Wood Gundy Ltd., said that Revenue Canada's restrictions make the Wyman plan less attractive for other companies. "It takes the zip out of it," he told *Maclean's*. Added Brian Gregson, executive vice-president of special loans at the Royal Bank: "I am not sure the plan can be duplicated." But Wyman is confident that similar deals can be arranged. "There are an awful lot of companies that are investigating the scheme to see if it has application to them," he said.

Still, the tax operation has solidified Pemberton's reputation as a major rival to the larger Toronto-based investment firms. Indeed, under Wyman's leadership (he became president in 1975 and chairman in 1982), the company has expanded its operations in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario. According to Pemberton President Fred Wright, a decade ago the firm had $2 million in capital (shareholders' equity). When Pemberton's 1983 fiscal year ends on March 31, it will have $15 million in capital, making it the 10th-largest investment dealer in Canada. Said Wright: "There is not really anyone else in Western Canada who constitutes competition for us." The real competition, he said, is provided by the large, Eastern-based firms. "The fight is on, and we are feeling the elbows," he declared. Added Wyman: "I think they have realized that we are reasonably competent out here." ◇



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MA207 2204

The pace-setting entrepreneurs



By Peter C. Newman

It was never possible to tell which one of them might be holding the other back, but after seven years of a creatively tempestuous and wildly remunerative partnership Izzy Asper and Gerry Schwartz have called it quits

During their controversial stewardship of CanWest Capital Corp , the two Winnipeg lawyer-entrepreneurs gave merchant banking in this country rare flair and spin. Their forte has been a complicated financial manoeuvre called leveraged buy-out. This is an acquisition in which 90 per cent of the purchase price is turned into newly created debt against the assets of the company being taken over, the loan then being paid off by the same company's cash flow. It's as close to a perpetual motion machine as capitalism has ever invented

Schwartz's most successful application of such fiscal acrobatics was his negotiation for Aristar Inc , a Florida-based financial services company worth $103 million, for only $10 million cash, it was sold three years later for a cash profit of $78 million. Na-Churs, an agricultural marketing agency, was similarly purchased for $3 million cash (the balance of its cost was financed out of internally generated revenues) and is now worth more than $30 million. Another CanWest triumph was the flipping of troubled Crown Trust, which the partners bought from Conrad Black in 1979 for $17.7 million and sold to Leonard Rosenberg in October, 1982, for $26 million.

These and other transactions allowed CanWest to earn a compounded annual interest on its investments of 22 per cent, raising its assets to $2.5 billion from a standing start in seven years.

Asper and Schwartz never faltered in their respect or affection for each other, but their business philosophies were always very different. Asper is an ardent Manitoban and ambitious empire builder who served as leader of the Liberal party in Manitoba when that position still meant something. Asper's determination to build up permanent, Manitoba-based assets rankled Schwartz, who is much more of a free trader, ready to move in and out of situations as they bloom or wilt. "Instead of a long upsweep," he told me during a recent interview, "the economic curve now is jagged with peaks and valleys, so that the volatility of investment situations has become very important. It means moving your money in and out, redeploying it over and over again instead of leaving it tied up in long-term assets."

Asper last week began taking over CanWest, concentrating his efforts on its control of Global Communications Ltd , ending up, as he puts it, "in control of a slimmed-down organization and ready to go again." The last straw for him was probably the 1983 sale of Monarch Life, which, except for the Richardson empire, was one of the last ma-



BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Schwartz, controversial stewardship

jor Winnipeg-owned financial institutions still based in Manitoba's capital. The unexpected control bid from North American Life was too favorable to be turned down (a cash gain of $36 million on a $6-million investment four years earlier), but in the crunch Asper was the only Monarch director who voted against it—shedding an angry tear or two when he lost.

Schwartz has brought along most of the original CanWest partners (including the Toronto Dominion Bank and the Canada Development Corp) into a new $50-million investment fund named Onex Capital Corp. Schwartz himself is investing $2 million cash plus nearly all of his time. As its initial assets Onex has purchased two of the main companies in the CanWest portfolio: the Na-Churs Plant Food Co , which markets solution fertilizers in 33 U.S. states, and Macleod-Stedman, which owns 500 variety and hardware stores across Canada.

"The key to succeeding in this business," Schwartz says, "is knowing how to play it in a risk-adverse way. One approach is not to mix a high operating cost with high financial risk. For example, Aristar was selling single premium deferred annuities [essentially a seven-year debt] and investing the proceeds in 30-day instruments paper. That was taking a hell of a risk should the interest environment change. So I fired the Aristar president three weeks after we bought it, on the theory that if we had seven-year liabilities we had to have solid seven-year assets and not go in for quick spreads."

Onex will participate in neither high-tech nor energy situations because Schwartz feels that these should be left to specialists. He prefers marketing-driven enterprises to manufacturing and expects to top his promised 25-per-cent annual return on investment easily.

After leaving Winnipeg at the age of 26, Schwartz graduated from the Harvard Business School and spent four years as an acquisitions specialist for the Wall Street brokerage firm of Bear, Stearns & Co. Married to Heather Reisman, the talented managing director of a North American consulting group which teaches executives how to manage change, the Schwartzes have moved to Toronto and settled into a Rosedale house that resembles a cool, clean gallery of Canadian art. A cultured and engaging conversationalist who is a contender for the Ideal Entrepreneur title for the 1980s, Schwartz sees himself as a modern-day Medici, sponsoring corporate involvement in the arts. (He recently joined the contemporary collection committee at the Art Gallery of Ontario.) Describing his investment habits, which have colorful results but depend on careful methods, he quotes French philosopher Blaise Pascal, "It has struck me that all men's misfortunes spring from the single cause that they are unable to stay quietly in one room."

Look who's on Tony's team. Esso.



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McCandless in the cargo bay and soaring above Challenger; satellite Palapa B-2 leaving the shuttle; plagued with failures

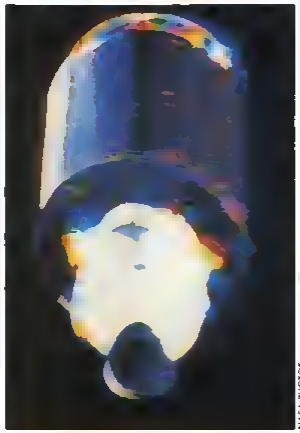
SPACE

The debut of 'a nice flying machine'

For Bruce McCandless, it was the culmination of 10 years of planning and preperation. The 46-year-old astronaut strapped himself into a $10-million, jet-powered backpack last week, unhooked his lifeline and flew away from the shuttle Challenger to become the first person ever to float untethered in space. His voice indicated no emotion as he talked in the wooden manner common to many astronauts, but his remarks betrayed his pleasure and feeling of accomplishment. "This is neat," deadpanned McCandless to his four fellow crew members and the ground staff. "We sure have a nice flying machine here." The so-called Manned Manoeuvring Unit which McCandless had helped to develop over the past decade, worked perfectly—a welcome change during last week's 10th shuttle trip, a mission otherwise plagued with failures.

A series of disappointments culminated with a power breakdown in the shuttle's Canadian-built robot arm, Canadarm, rendering it useless for a training exercise that was supposed to have been a principal function of the mission. Earlier, two communications satellites disappeared in space when their rocket engines apparently malfunctioned after their launch from the shuttle, and a target balloon which the crew had planned to use in manoeuvring exercises exploded. Said Glynn S. Lunney, program manager at the Johnson Space Center in Houston: "I guess you have to say it was a bittersweet experience."

At the same time, Lunney predicted that the flight will be remembered not for its failures, but for the daredevil accomplishments of McCandless and fellow astronaut Robert Stewart, 41, who joined his colleague on two history-making, untethered walks to test the jet packs. Remote-control TV cameras beamed back sensational pictures of the white-suited astronauts hovering, drifting and even somersaulting against the blackness of outer space. Said McCandless: "It might have been one small step for Neil [Armstrong], but it was a giant leap for me."



NASA PHOTOS

But on a second untethered flight, the astronauts were frustrated by the breakdown of the Canadarm. The 50-foot remote manipulator, built by Spar Aerospace of Toronto, has performed well on previous shuttle missions. But last week an internal power failure prevented the "wrist" part of the arm from moving. That forced the cancellation of an exercise in which the free-floating astronauts had planned to clamp a "capture device" onto an object rotating slowly at the end of the arm, simulating the $100-million U.S. satellite that has been spinning out of control since its launch in 1980. Still, space scientists learned enough from last week's experiments that astronauts aboard the next shuttle flight will try to retrieve the actual satellite.

Meanwhile, investigators are already trying to determine precisely why the two satellites—Western Union's Wester VI and the Indonesian government's Palape-B-2—failed to go into proper orbit. Satellite launching has become a major source of income for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, but until the launch problem is solved, the agency is unlikely to attract many more delivery orders. With the responsibility for nearly $200 million worth of missing hardware at stake, NASA spokesmen said that the agency's involvement was merely as a delivery service. Richard D. Brandes, vice-president of the Hughes Aircraft Co., which manufactured the two satellites, directed the blame toward the rocket booster systems, which McDonnell Douglas provides to Hughes.

The planned procedure for the launches involved first nudging the satellites from the shuttle into a low orbit 165 miles above Earth. Then the rocket boosters attached to the satellites were supposed to ignite and push them into a 22,300-mile-high stationary orbit. The manoeuvre requires the rockets to burn for 85 seconds. But early evidence indicates that the rockets burned for only 15 seconds before the "back ends," or nozzles, blew off.

Radar trackers located the two satellites in orbit about 700 miles high and more than 21,000 miles off course, apparently intact but useless as radio relays. The Canadian government was taking a special interest in the investigation because Telesat Canada's Anik C-1 communications satellite is scheduled for a shuttle launch in June. Said NASA's Lunney: "So far, the Canadians have not even called us up to suggest a postponement. I think that they think we will solve the problem in time to get their bird off the ground safely."

If the June launch is successful, it will be at a higher cost than previously planned. Last week's failures will cost insurance syndicates at least $180 million, and that will lead to higher premiums for any country or company insuring a satellite. A NASA source estimated that Canada might want to insure the Telesat satellite for about $100 million. Until last week the premium would have been about $10 million, but now it could be twice as much. As well, any changes in production methods might push up the cost of the necessary booster rockets to well above the current price of $5 million per satellite.

While NASA floundered temporarily, three Soviet cosmonauts sped into orbit last week and settled into the cigar-shaped Salyut-7 space station for what was likely to be a long stay. The Challenger crew joked that with a record-setting eight people in orbit, "it's getting pretty populated up here." But as the agency takes on its new task of developing a manned space station by 1992, the cosmonauts were a clear reminder that the Soviets are well advanced with a similar project.

—WILLIAM LOWTHER *in Washington.*

LAW

Challenging the censors

Censorship last week became one of the controversial issues destined for a Supreme Court of Canada hearing under the terms of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms. And that raised questions over the legality of film censorship and classification boards not only in Ontario, where the court case arose, but also in the seven other provinces in which they function. The Ontario Board of Censors actually lost its authority to cut what it considers to be objectionable scenes from movies for a day early last week. The Ontario Court of Appeal supported a lower court decision that, because the board's informal guidelines were vague and discretionary, its film-cutting violated the freedom of expression provision of the charter. But the Ontario government quickly applied for, and received, a stay of the court ruling, which allowed the board to function pending an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada.



IAN WILLIS/MACLEAN'S

Toronto adult movie house: defining 'reasonable limits' on freedom of expression

The Ontario board's decisions are especially important because they have a spillover effect on the rest of Canada. Many foreign films enter the country through Ontario and in many cases distributors do not reinstate Ontario cuts when the films move on to other provinces. In April, 1982, a group of Toronto film-makers and artists launched the court challenge that was referred to the country's highest court last week. They maintained that existing Criminal Code provisions are adequate to control pornography, and they objected to the fact that all films have to undergo the board's scrutiny. Said artist Cyndra MacDowall, a spokesman for the group: "It is a case of guilty until proven innocent."

But censor board proponents have always maintained that the police do not have time to respond to every citizen complaint about pornography. Besides, said the board's chairman, Mary Brown, the existing Criminal Code definition of obscenity, although it was broadened in 1959, still does not give enough attention to violent or exploitative sex, particularly the exploitation of children. Even further amendments now under consideration in Ottawa will not eliminate the need for a censor board to research and enforce "community standards," she said.

Although the court case strictly affects only the Ontario board, similar challenges of classifications could emerge in other provinces. Said New Brunswick government spokesman Edward Bringloe: "I have nothing concrete, but there is a tendency for these things to grow and spread like ripples." Meanwhile, as it awaits the Supreme Court ruling, Ontario's consumer affairs ministry is quickly drawing up formal censorship regulations, outlawing the depiction of certain types of sexual or violent behavior. But it remains for the court to decide whether or not even nondiscretionary censorship is a "reasonable limit" on freedom of expression, as the charter guarantees.

—REPORTED BY SUSAN RILEY *in Ottawa.*

The controversial overhaul of the law

By Shona McKay

It has been the subject of dozens of discussion papers, public hearings and study groups. Then, last week, Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan amended the Criminal Code with an omnibus bill that proposed sweeping changes of Canadian laws, including controversial provisions that would allow police to seize the property of an accused person and give victims a role in sentencing criminals.

If the bill is passed, the amendments will involve

Seizure: The proposals permit law enforcement authorities to "seize and freeze" bank and other financial assets—including private homes—of suspects if a judge agrees that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the assets were acquired as a result of criminal activity.

Victims: They would have a new ststus in the legal system, with rights of restitution as well as the right to tell the court about losses and injuries suffered. The bill proposes that criminals pay their victims as much as $2,000 for a minor offence and unlimited amounts for more serious crimes, such as robbery or assault.

Contempt of court: Age-old common laws would be replaced by legislation that would limit the powers of a judge to levy contempt charges, entitle the accused to legal counsel and outline maximum sentences.

Impaired driving: Anyone found guilty of impaired driving or refusing to take a breathalyzer test would be prohibited from driving for three months. Repeat offenders could lose their driving privileges for life. Stiffer fines and longer jail sentences would apply in cases where injury or death occurred.

Prostitution: Under the new provisions police could charge a customer as well as a prostitute with soliciting.

Obscenity: The definition of obscenity would expand to ban representations of men or women in a degrading manner which unduly exploited not only sex but crime, cruelty, horror or violence. Video cassettes and satellite technology would be included under the new law.

Computer crime: For the first time in Canada it would be an offence to destroy, alter or interfere with the lawful use of computer data. Anyone who broke into a system without authorization would be subject to a 10-year jail sentence.

Sentencing: For nonviolent crimes, jail would become the punishment of last resort. Instead, a judge could levy nine other types of sentence, including fines and community service work. However, jail sentences for those convicted of violent crimes would be increased to a minimum of 10 years without the possibility of parole, from three years.

Search warrants: Controversial writs of assistance, which currently allow RCMP officers to search premises without a court order, would be replaced by a system known as tele-warrants. Under the new method, a police officer could obtain a warrant from a judge over the telephone. Justice officials said the fact that the conversations will be recorded would act as a safeguard.



MITCHELL/CP

MacGuigan: sweeping changes

Within the Canadian legal community, lawyers generally applauded MacGuigan's reforms, particularly the proposed changes in laws governing contempt and computer crime, although there were also criticisms. Said Earl Levy, president of the Toronto-based Criminal Lawyers Association: "These proposals are progressive. The changes reflect the concerns and therefore the realities of the time." But Levy shared the uneasiness of many of his colleagues over other aspects of the bill. Few lawyers argue against the general principle of aiding the victims of crime, but many of them fear that the changes would infringe on the rights of the accused and their families. Said Michael Bolton, a criminal lawyer from Vancouver: "To allow the victim to play a part in proceedings instils the passion of the crime into the court system. It will only produce cloudiness in a justice system that has rightly and traditionally been dispassionate and objective." Lawyers have also expressed concern that, with more discretionary sentencing powers available to judges, inconsistencies would arise in which the rich would pay fines and the poor would go to jail.

But the proposed new seizure laws caused the most controversy. Justice department officials stressed that the laws are aimed at narcotics dealers and organized crime figures but they conceded that a suspect in a long court case could lose his property for years and eventually be acquitted. Said Winnipeg criminal lawyer Jay Prober: "This is a frightening type of power to give to the police. The legislation flies in the face of the presumption of innocence."

Some experts also questioned MacGuigan's broader intentions. They declared that the changes are insubstantial and are designed to aid MacGuigan's possible campaign for the Liberal leadership. Said Bolton: "I do not see that he has done anything fundamental to the law or necessary for society at this time. What he is doing is tinkering and applying Band-Aids to some very high-profile issues that are getting a lot of public attention." Added Prober: "The crackdown on drunk driving and the changes in the pornography laws have come about as a direct result of tremendous pressure from lobbyists."

Spokesmen from both the federal NDP and Conservative parties expressed the same concerns as the Canadian legal community. That cast doubt on whether or not the Liberals will achieve a speedy summer passage of the bill. Said Lynn McDonald, NDP justice critic: "How fast this bill will become law all depends on how willing MacGuigan will be to have his amendments amended." ✪



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An acute lack of donors



The Middletons; Eric (below): grief-stricken relatives often deny permission

Two Ontario babies who desperately needed new livers to replace their diseased ones highlighted Canada's severe shortage of human organs for transplants during the past two weeks. Eric Middleton, an eight-month-old infant from Amherstburg, near Windsor, Ont., was the first to receive the sought-after transplant. Eric had only a week to live when an unidentified New Jersey couple learned of his plight through the media and on Feb. 3 donated the liver of their brain-dead child. Because no suitable livers were available through the normal channels of the North American organ retrieval network, Douglas and Mary Middleton, Eric's parents, had resorted to a two-month telephone, mail and media blitz in which hockey star Wayne Gretzky and U.S. Ambassador Paul Robinson, among others, took up the appeal. Last week Eric, who suffered from biliary atresia, a rare, congenital disease in which the liver's bile ducts are blocked, was in critical but stable condition, recovering from the 10-hour transplant operation at the University of Minnesota Health and Science Center in Minneapolis.

Later last week Lindsay Eberhardt was still waiting for her chance. Doctors gave the 21-month-old Toronto child three months to live because of biliary atresia. Like the Middletons, Lindsay's parents, James and Christine, were planning to launch their own public appeal to hospitals and physicians throughout North America. At the same time, Ontario Lt.-Gov. John Aird took up their cause and gave an emotional press conference. Said James Eberhardt, a 22-year-old laborer: "People are not donating because they really are not aware of the need. From here on, it is downhill for Lindsay. She needs a liver and she needs it right away."

Physicians and organ retrieval technicians say that improved transplant techniques and the advent of antirejection drugs have dramatically increased survival rates of organ recipients and made the demand for organ transplants much greater. Dr. Michael Robinette, chairman of the Metro Organ Retrieval and Exchange Program (MORE) in Toronto, said that the success rate after one year for kidney transplants has increased to 80 per cent from 60 in the past three years. But of the roughly 2,500 Canadians eligible for kidney transplants, fewer than 500 will have the operation this year because of the shortage of available organs. And as medical science makes further advances, there will be a greater demand for other body organs as well.



Canadian physicians concede that health professionals must take action to increase the supply because the current system does not appear to be adequate. Every province has, or will soon introduce, an organ donor card, which will accompany each driver's licence and, when signed, authorize doctors to donate any card-holder's organs in the event of a fatal accident. Still, a Gallup poll taken a year ago indicates that only 21 per cent of Canadians had signed such a card. What is more, doctors can only take such organs as kidneys, livers, hearts, lungs and pancreases from patients—usually accident victims or people who have suffered cerebral hemorrhages—who are brain-dead but whose organs are still working. And even when a signed donor card exists, physicians must still obtain consent from the next of kin for organ donation. Because it is an emotional time, permission is often denied. Said Marty Smith, transplant co-ordinator for the organ donor program of the British Columbia ministry of health in Vancouver: "Often when the family is making the decision about whether to donate, it is at the single worst period of their lives."

Anne Lake, a Toronto organ retrieval technician, and others say that the medical personnel who attend brain-dead patients in hospital intensive care units also have to become more aware of the desperate need for organs. MORE, the second-largest organ retrieval agency in the North American donor system and a provincewide service linked to eight other Canadian agencies, will not approach a bereaved family to discuss organ donation until the attending physician has already introduced the topic. But Dr. Frank Leblanc, a neurosurgeon at Foothills Hospital in Calgary, said that in Alberta physicians will not suggest organ donation to the family. Instead, they notify the hospital's organ retrieval team or pastor to let them make the suggestion themselves.

Many doctors say that the publicity surrounding Eric Middleton and Lindsay Eberhardt's search for livers has increased the public's awareness of the need for more donors. Although some doctors are concerned that there will be a public backlash against such emotional and highly public campaigns, for now the response is favorable. Said Robinette about the impact on MORE: "We are busy right now. It really has a ripple effect."

—PATRICIA HLUCHY, *with Jackie Carlos in Toronto*



JIM ELZINGA

Stiller: developments raise the prospect of improved treatment for diabetics

A new assault on diabetes

The results of a 14-month study by a Canadian research team may transform conventional methods of treating diabetes by allowing some diabetics to abandon insulin injections. The announcement last week in Switzerland by Dr. Calvin Stiller, a kidney specialist at University Hospital in London, Ont., raised the prospect of improved treatment for the estimated 200,000 Canadians who are classed as type 1—or insulin dependent—diabetics. It also sparked interest in the international medical community and represents the latest development in a burst of new Canadian diabetes research. Said Dr. Stuart Ross, a diabetologist at the University of Calgary: "There is a very high level of exciting work that is going on in this country."

The Canadian research team treated recently diagnosed type 1 diabetics with the drug cyclosporine, which has more commonly been used in transplant surgery to inhibit the body's rejection mechanisms. Fifty-eight per cent of the 41 diabetics whom the London team treated with the drug have been able to abandon daily injections of insulin. However, some researchers caution that the drug's potential side effects, which can range from hair growth to liver and kidney damage, may limit its usefulness. The results of the cyclosporine study are only the latest addition to the body of diabetes research currently under way in Canada. The disease still remains the third-largest killer in North America, and a diabetic on insulin still often suffers complications ranging from blindness to heart failure.

Michael Albisser, a bioengineer at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto working with diabetic specialists, has devised a machine that duplicates the human pancreas. Last September, Albisser announced the beginning of test trials using a three-inch by five-inch portable microcomputer that, along with a glucose-monitoring device, allows a diabetic to control his blood glucose fluctuations more accurately.

Meanwhile, researchers at Connaught Laboratories in Toronto have announced both the development of synthetic insulin—now being used in trial tests on animals—and a method of implanting normal animal pancreatic islet cells—those parts of the organ that manufacture insulin—into diabetic animals. When researchers tried such experiments in the past, antibodies destroyed the foreign cells. But Connaught has developed a plastic polymer coating that protects the cells.

The cause of diabetes remains a mystery, but there is a growing atmosphere of optimism among the researchers. Said Dr. Bernard Leibel, a diabetologist at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children: "It is wrong to offer false hope. But it is also fair to say that at this point the future for the diabetic looks brighter than ever before."

—SHONA MCKAY *in Toronto, with David Helwig in St. Thomas, Ont.*

Another piece to the cancer puzzle

A dramatic discovery by a team of scientists in Britain, Israel and the United States has brought medical science another step closer to understanding why cancer cells reproduce in an uncontrolled and deadly way. In the current issue of the London-based science magazine *Nature*, released last week, a team of researchers from the Imperial Cancer Fund in London, the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot, Israel, and Genentech Inc. of San Francisco reported that they had uncovered a remarkable similarity between protein produced by a gene that causes cancer in chickens and a natural substance that triggers the growth of healthy cells. By further examining the similarities and differences between the cancer-produced protein and the protein that initiates normal cell growth in humans, scientists hope to understand more fully how cancer spreads.

Canadian scientists say that the international team's findings provide another important piece in the puzzle of how human cancer-causing genes, called oncogenes, function and cause the disease to invade the body. Said molecular geneticist Lou Siminovitch, president of Canada's National Cancer Institute: "A discovery like this is terribly important. If we know how they work, we will be in a better position to look to prevention and treatment."

The study reported in *Nature* is the latest development in the comparatively new and exciting area of research into the genetics of cancer. In the late 1970s scientists in California discovered the first oncogenes in viruses that caused cancer in laboratory animals. Then, in 1982, cancer research leaped forward when scientists in the United States isolated and analysed the oncogene responsible for human bladder cancer. Since then researchers have isolated about 20 human oncogenes, but scientists do not know how they trigger cancer.

Researchers involved in the latest study say that it lays the groundwork for a more profound understanding of the effect of oncogenes on the human body, but that it will take more research and several years before any clinical applications are possible. However, Dr. Robert Chambers, a biochemist at Dalhousie University in Halifax, believes that all the research currently devoted to oncogenes could yield new clinical approaches within a few years. Said Chambers: "It is going to be enormously valuable."

—PATRICIA HLUCHY *in Toronto*



Derek, a memo about uncontrollable laughter and jeers for the first 15 minutes

Canadian singer-songwriter **Murray McLauchlan** has answered the question "Why haven't you moved to the United States?" so often that his response has become a litany. In short, he likes Canada. And proof of that affection is shown in a new 13-show series on CBC Stereo, beginning Feb. 18, for which McLauchlan interviewed and composed songs about people across Canada from all walks of life. His subjects range from figures connected with history or nostalgia to personal heroes, including **Jan Zurakawski**, the test pilot for the famous Avro Arrow fighter plane in the 1950s. **Margaret Trudeau** was another source of inspiration for him. Said McLauchlan, whom she called "Bruce" on her Ottawa TV talk show *Margaret*: "I found her to be engaging, somewhat witty and fairly well-rehearsed." After all, he added, "what do we really expect of our public figures? I would like a person who is a dory driver in Newfoundland to understand what it's like to be Margaret Trudeau, and vice versa."

Although **Bo Derek** once claimed that she did not consider herself the perfect "10," both she and husband **John** have managed to keep her semiclad—and sometimes unclad—body on public display. Her latest film, *Bo-lero*, written, directed and photographed by John, is so sexually explicit that it deserves "a double X" rating, declared Cannon Films chairman **Menahem Golan**. Said Golan: "Bo is naked from the beginning to the end." Publicity director **Priscilla McDonald** refused to predict the film's fate if the Derekes do not agree to edit it to "a softer X." But that is not the only problem. A memo that McDonald sent to Derek's agent detailed the audience's "uncontrollable" laughter and jeers in the first 15 minutes of a private screening. McDonald insisted that she was surprised when her memo reached the media, saying someone had stolen it, but John Derek said that that was "baloney—ridiculous self-promotion." And, he added, the film will be released in the summer as planned—without cuts. "I have the final word on *everything*," he said. "The film is erotic but very clean. You could take a priest to see it."

"Baby" is what its creator, Italian special effects designer **Isidoro Raponi** (*King Kong, Close Encounters of the Third Kind*), calls a "realistic but lovable reptile, the most complex mechanical creature ever used in a movie." *Baby* is also Walt Disney Productions' response to *E.T.* and is now being filmed in the West African tropical forests of the Ivory Coast. The creation of Baby and his 60-foot-long parents had caused a considerable stir among African villagers, some of whom believe that dinosaurs still live in the deep African jungles. The initial unease has largely subsided, but Disney publicists are keeping Baby under wraps. All that has emerged so far is his mother's grey latex left foot.

The Pope has turned pop. Two years ago Italian music publisher **Gigi Campi** asked Canadian composer-lyricist **Gene Lees** on behalf of the Vatican to turn 10 Italian songs into English. Composer **Tito Fontana** had written the original music to accompany Polish-language poems by a young priest, who is now **Pope John Paul II**. Lees, 56, now living in Ojai, Calif., had already written such songs as *Someone to Light Up My Life*, recorded by **Frank Sinatra**, and he readily accepted the challenge. But he had trouble adjusting to the poet's free-form verse style and as a result he sought, and received, permission to take "cautious liberties" with the music and the texts. **Sarah Vaughan** is scheduled to perform the songs in St. Peter's Square in June. Said Lees: "It could well be that the Pope's poetry will soon become the most powerful ecumenical source around. Let's face the fact that the Pope is pretty well-known—and so am I."

McLauchlan, naw proof



BRIAN WILLER MACLEAN'S

Pope John Paul II, free-form style



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FOR THE RECORD

The new siren of rock

Paradoxically, *Learning to Crawl* (Sire/WEA), the title of the new Pretenders album, has as much to do with death as with birth. Certainly it refers to singer Chrissie Hynde's year-old daughter's first attempts to move around. But it also suggests the strain that Hynde and drummer Martin Chambers must feel in struggling on after the drug-related deaths of two of the original four members of the band within the last 18 months. Such a tragic past would be a crippling setback for any group, but Hynde, who established herself on the band's 1980 debut album as a tough, intelligent vocalist, has bounced back. With *Learning to Crawl*, she has surged to the forefront of rock.

Back on the Chain Gang, a hit single recorded last year with studio musicians, tells of returning to work after the departure of a friend. In other songs, such as *Time the Avenger*, Hynde's husky contralto conveys lessons learned with emotional conviction. "Nobody's permanent," she observes, "everything's on loan here." But when her maturity and hindsight give way to raw anger, which she displays on *Middle of the Road*, she scales new heights. The song, a furious rocker, is both autobiographical and political when it tackles Third World oppression and the complacency of the middle class. Over scorching guitars and without apology, she admits, "I'm not the cat I used to be/I've got a kid/I'm 33," and her purr turns to a wail.



Hynde: two deaths and a fiery rebirth

What has always set The Pretenders apart from the rest of the British new wave is the band's provocative stance, combined with a respect for the roots of rock music. *Learning to Crawl* covers broader musical ground than any of its previous albums, ranging from a peppy country tune to soul and more blues-based material. Robbie McIntosh is not as adventurous as James Honeyman-Scott, the group's first gifted guitarist, but Hynde provides more of the excitement now. And where her textured vocals too often took a backseat to a raging guitar solo, her singing has finally found a suitable showcase. Songs like *I Hurt You* reveal greater confidence and range. The clarity and empathy of Hynde's songwriting places her in a league with Elvis Costello and Talking Heads' David Byrne. Having put yesterday's pain behind her, Hynde has arrived as rock's brava new siren.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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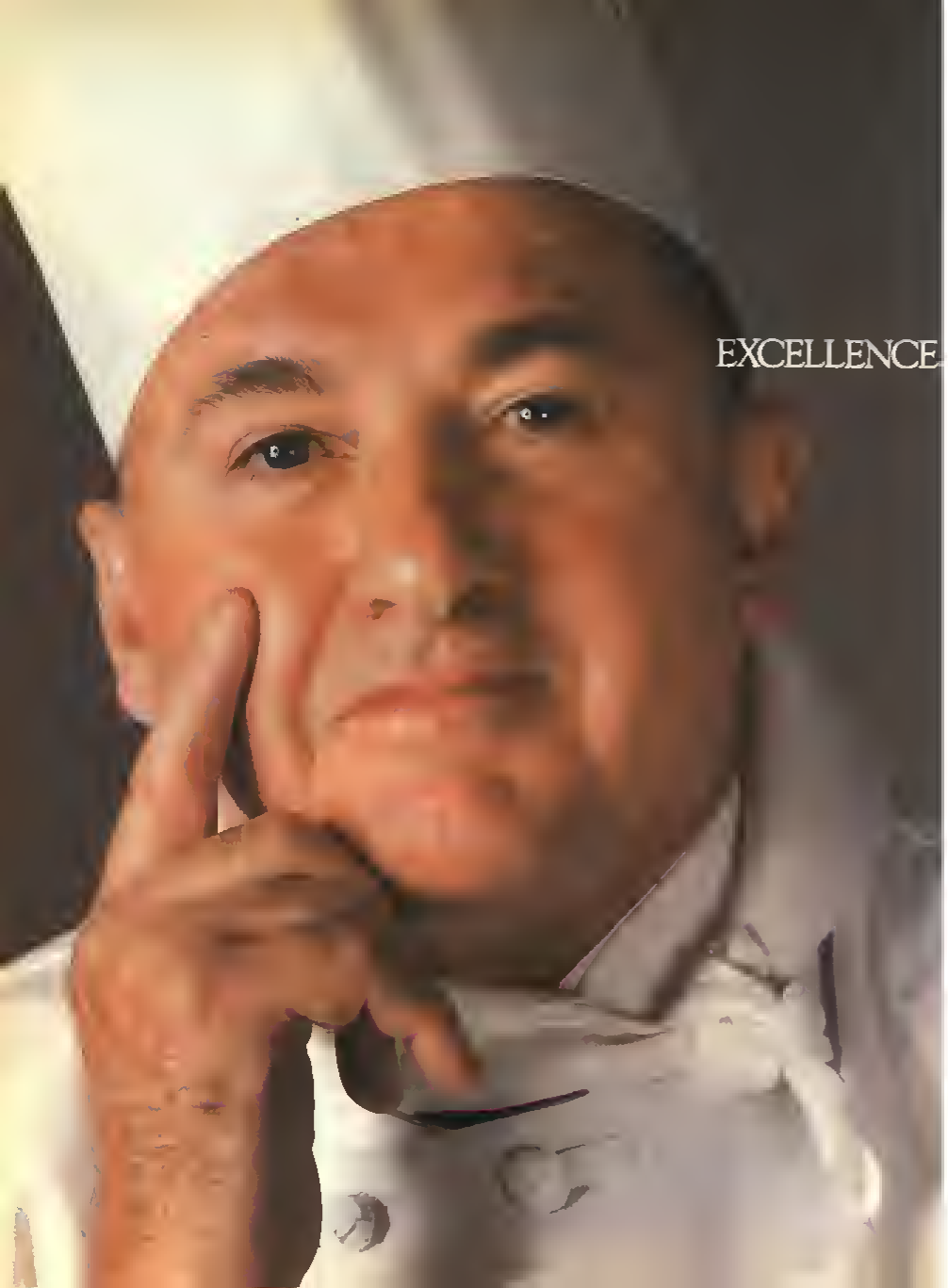
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LABOR

The battle over the 35-hour week

By Peter Lewis

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl dismisses the idea as "absurd and dumb" German management argues that it would bankrupt the economy in 18 months The object of the scorn is a plan by German unions to mount a sweeping drive this month to win a 35-hour work week without pay cuts, instead of the normal 40 They claim, with some backing from independent economists, that the scheme will reduce unemployment by at least half from two million The battle for the 35-hour week threatens to plunge Germany into a tumultuous spring of strikes and retahatory lockouts by irate companies Predicted metalworkers union chief Hans Mayr: "It will be the roughest industrial clash in Germany since the war" And the first victim is likely to be the much-vaunted "social partnership" between German labor and management that fuelled the nation's recent prosperity

The drive for a 35-hour week, after a long period of wage restraint by Germany's powerful unions, has kindled a new militancy in the country's previously industrious and dutiful work force. But it has also aroused fears in government circles that a sharp bout of labor unrest could endanger Germany's slow climb out of recession And the struggle will serve as a test case for other European unions that see the 35-hour week as a magic way to cut potentially explosive European unemployment totals In December there were 12 2 million people out of work in the 10 European Economic Community (EEC) countries

The drive will be tested this month when eight million workers in 16 unions belonging to the giant German trade union federation Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund (DGB) start bargaining their 1984 contracts In an ominous sign, German labor and management chiefs, normally polite to each other, last month engaged in class-struggle invective reminiscent of the politically divisive early 1920s One labor boss accused Otto Esser, head of the German Employers Association, of being "venemous right through to the marrow," while one senior Frankfurt Chamber of Commerce official retorted that the DGB had fallen under the spell of "strong Marxist factions bent on strangling the free enterprise system"

The employers claim that a reduction in working hours would be tantamount to an 18-per-cent wage raise and that, by forcing many firms to the economic wall, the ranks of the unemployed would swell instead of shrink The DGB maintains that the introduction of a 35-hour week in Germany would create as many as 1 6 million new jobs Management spokesmen concede that it might, at best, produce 60,000 German economists, caught in the middle, generally support the union argument The Berlin-based Institute for Economic Research, for one, said last month that a shorter week could aventually mean 1 1 million new jobs

An austerity-minded German government appears adamantly opposed to a reduced work week, and right-wing Chancellor Kohl has stoutly declared that union strike threats will not influence him Leading conservative MP Alfred Dregger added that the "irresponsible" union demand could double the German workars' holidays—already lengthy by world standards According to EEC statistics, Germany's well-paid work force, with its current six-week vacation and 13 legal holidays per year, labors 1,770 hours a year—148 less than Canadian workers and 320 less than a typical Japanese

European labor specialists will be closely watching the coming battle over the work week in Germany They are anxious to confirm their theory that work-sharing, coupled with flexible hours, can spur productivity by cutting unemployment rolls and making fuller use of factory equipment

The most alarming development for many Germans, however, is the possibility that the 35-hour week issue could divide the country along class lines, destroying the spirit of union-management compromise that made postwar Germany the envy of its European neighbors Indeed, top German labor official Georg Benz recently pronounced Germany's social partnership to be a "dead idea," and many in Germany contend that the pact was an illusion to begin with Wrote newspaper commentator Werner Kern "It was probably never more than a smooth redistribution of wealth in better days" Yet the prospect of a divisive fight raises few cheers among Germans who shudder from memories of the cruel social battles of the 1920s Given a choice, most would be content with peaceful illusion



German workers: 'it will be the roughest industrial clash in Germany since the war'

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CONSUMERISM

The move to generic beer



Old Fort President Sharpe, an experiment that could rock the beer industry

For the past six years the beer industry in Canada has suffered a decline. Consumption has levelled off because some former beer drinkers have switched to wine, and others have quit because of the new health consciousness. As a result, the business has staggered under an anemic annual growth rate of 1.7 per cent per capita since 1970. In response, bottlers in Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Alberta have launched a new marketing experiment that could rock the foundations of the demoralized brewing industry: the introduction of no-brand-name beer. Said Herb England, vice-president and general manager of the Prairie region of Labatt Brewing Co., the first major brewery to introduce the cut-rate, plainly packaged beer: "We are happy with the way it has been accepted so far. I am sure the other breweries are watching with great interest."

Indeed, since December, when Labatt introduced generic beer in Saskatchewan—at $7.75 per 12-pack vs. $9.20 for well-known brands—no-brand-name has captured 15 per cent of the market. In British Columbia the independently owned Prince George-based Old Fort Brewing Co. was the first Canadian brewery to introduce generic beer when it launched its $6.90 12-pack last April. It was an instant success. Old Fort, which previously enjoyed a three-per-cent share of the B.C. market with its other brands, soared to a 10-per-cent market share when it began stocking its brown cases of "Beer Beer"—as it is locally known—on B.C. liquor store shelves. Sales have levelled off to five per cent of the market, but there are now three more Old Fort generic options to choose from—malt beer, Beer II (a case of 24) and a light beer. Said Old Fort President William Sharpe: "We went into the market with nothing to lose. The experts said beer sales are all based on image. It took upstarts like ourselves to show them that they were wrong."

Generic beer remains a western phenomenon because of free pricing in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Unlike Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, where beer prices are standardized, western companies sometimes discount their regular brands. Still, Labatt conducted six months of market surveys to decide whether Saskatchewanians were familiar with the no-brand-name concept before it launched the new product. The beer is a different recipe and tastes not unlike regular beers. Said England: "The savings come in cheaper packaging and lack of advertising."

If the generic experiment has shown anything, it is that beer drinkers are willing to abandon their favorite brew for the sake of saving money. It has also demonstrated that they are willing to forgo fancy labels and lavish lifestyle beer commercials for the brown-paper-bag approach to beer drinking. Said Edmund Jordan as he carried two cases of no-brand-name beer from the 4th Avenue liquor store in Vancouver: "None of these beers tastes much different anyway. So why not save a few bucks?"

—JANE O'HARA *in Vancouver*

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Helping migraine sufferers

Ten years ago doctors understood little about migraine headaches, and the malady was difficult to treat. Since then, medical researchers have discovered many of the causes of the severely painful disorder that afflicts an estimated 2.5 million Canadians. And even though there is still no acknowledged cure, a new class of drugs has joined the growing arsenal of treatments for the illness. Doctors involved do not predict that any single drug will cure migraines. But the new medicines, along with drugless biofeedback techniques, have made the lives of some chronic sufferers less painful.

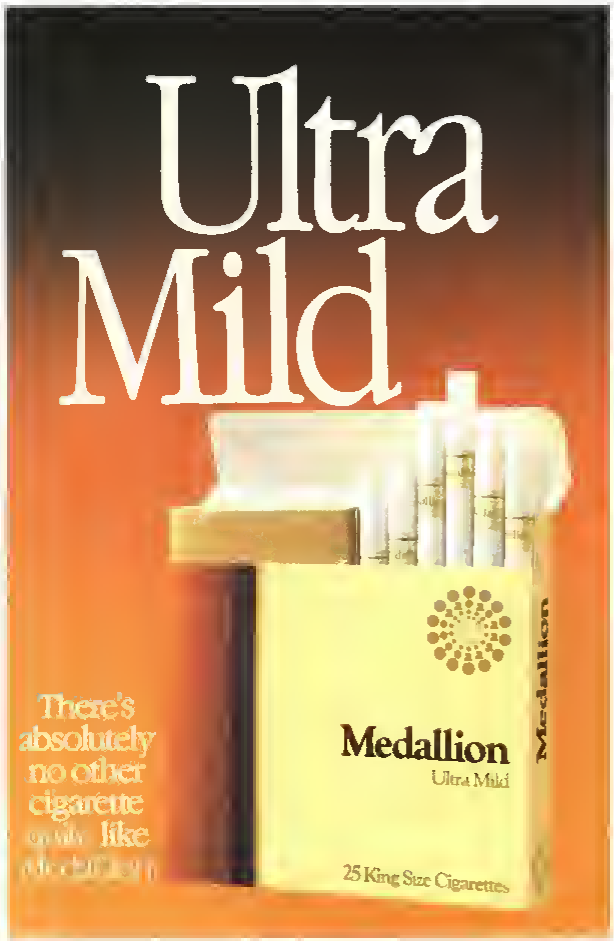
Doctors now know that a migraine attack occurs when some blood vessels inside the head contract and others expand quickly, becoming sensitive to pain and producing a throbbing headache. A host of factors ranging from cheese and red wine to nervous tension can cause the onset of migraines. Researchers have known for years that calcium plays a part in triggering contractions in muscles throughout the body. Indeed, patients with heart disease have been taking drugs called calcium channel blockers for years to stave off heart attacks. Recently, doctors have found that those same calcium channel blockers prevent the contraction of muscle cells in the walls of blood vessels in the brain.

One of the calcium blockers, verapamil, made by Searle Pharmaceuticals, generated interest in November, 1983, after a medical study in the U.S. magazine *Neurology* showed it had prevented migraine attacks in 50 sufferers at Scott Air Force Base in Illinois. Medical specialists have also turned their attention to a newer calcium blocker, nimodipine, made by Miles Laboratories. The reason it targets the blood vessels in the brain rather than spreading its effect throughout the whole body, as most drugs do, Dr. Marek Gawel and Dr. John Edmeads at the headache clinic at Toronto's Sunnybrook Medical Centre expect to begin a trial of nimodipine's effects on migraine sufferers within a few months.

Rosemary Dudley, executive vice-president of Toronto's 15,000-member Migraine Foundation, is enthusiastic about the potential. She takes a calcium blocker prescribed by her doctor, a migraine specialist. Said Dudley: "On a scale of 10, I get a level 2 headache instead of a level 8." But Gawel is cautious about the results of the Scott Air Force Base study.

Drugs are not the only new weapon against migraine. Some researchers believe that migraine sufferers who monitor their internal body temperature on a digital thermometer and raise it several degrees by mental concentration—a process known as biofeedback—can control their headaches. Dr. Michael Lacroix, a psychologist at Toronto's York University, said that the method worked for all of his 27 patients in a two-year study which ended in 1982. Said Lacroix: "Before training, patients reported an average of four migraines per month. At the end of the study, the average was less than one a month." Chronic migraine sufferers who cannot rely on standard treatments to stop the searing pain of their affliction can only hope that biofeedback and the new calcium channel blocker drugs may alleviate their suffering.

—DAVE SILBURT *in Toronto*



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A writer of conscience and compassion

THE TRUE ADVENTURES OF JOHN STEINBECK, WRITER
By Jackson J. Benson
(Penguin Books, 1,116 pages, $45)

Some authors discover their vocation late. John Steinbeck, by contrast, never wanted to follow any career but writing. Even as a teenager he made himself unpopular by reciting his short stories to bored neighbors. In the first comprehensive biography of the popular American writer, Jackson J. Benson observes that Steinbeck was so eager to convert all experiences into literature that he actually scrawled notes while making love in the back seat of a car.

Steinbeck was to travel far from the small town of Salinas, Calif., where he was born in 1902, the only son of a bookkeeper. In middle age he became a personal friend of Charlie Chaplin, Lyndon B. Johnson, John Kenneth Galbraith and many other celebrities, and on occasion he was proud to adopt an unofficial role as overseas spokesman for the United States. But, as Benson emphasizes, he was happiest in youthful solitude. At times of success, Steinbeck often made himself miserable by forgetting his own cumbersome remark: "Nine-tenths of a writer's life do not admit of any companion nor friend nor associate."

Benson shows particular acuteness in describing Steinbeck in the 1930s when, after a series of false starts, he gradually learned to create fiction with both artistry and emotional force. Married to Carol Henning, who edited his work with loving ferocity, he occupied a three-room cottage on the Monterey peninsula and wrote such fine novels as *Tortilla Flat* and *In Dubious Battle*. Many tales about Steinbeck at that time suggest a sweet, irresistible craziness: he once strapped a rollerskate onto an iguana and led it around Pacific Grove on a dog leash. Content in his genteel poverty, he was slow to learn about the desperate plight of the Dust Bowl refugees from Oklahoma and other central states, up to 400,000 of whom moved to California in the 1930s. Despised by state officials, feared and exploited by local farmers, the "Okies" lived in unsanitary, overcrowded camps and picked fruit for as little as 12½ cents an hour. Steinbeck endured threats and abuse to dramatize their story. His passionate commitment to the refugees gives *The Grapes of Wrath*, his epic novel about the Okies, a heartfelt depth missing from his other fiction.



Steinbeck: defeat and a Nobel Prize

While the book needled the conscience of America, it also met widespread hostility; one congressman described it as "a black, infernal creation of a twisted, distorted mind." Writing *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck fell seriously ill; in its aftermath he left his wife and moved to New York. A disastrous second marriage, the death of his closest friend, Ed Ricketts, and his inability to match the quality of his earlier fiction made the 1940s a miserable decade for him. Even the stability of his third marriage, his newfound wealth and his delight in foreign travel could not compensate for his loss of imaginative force. He struggled furiously over such late novels as *East of Eden* and *The Winter of Our Discontent*, producing work that commanded much respect but little love. Having lived hard, he was burned out; death in 1968 came as a blessing.

Benson is impatient with critics who dismiss Steinbeck. After he received the Nobel Prize in 1962, *The New York Times* scoffed at his "limited talent" and "10th-rate philosophizing." Benson defends Steinbeck's work by arguing that alone among important modern writers, he showed "an explicit commitment to an ecological view of the world," in which man is *not* the measure of all things. By contrast, Benson takes pains to minimize the political thrust of his Depression novels. Although Steinbeck was never a Communist, Benson is wrong to neglect the radical implications of such a passage.

In other ways, *The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer* is an exemplary work: confident without being dogmatic, warm without being idolatrous. Its sheer bulk may be unfortunate, for few among Steinbeck's millions of admirers will have the time or energy to read such a massive volume. Those who do will emerge with a remarkably detailed image of an honest and generous man who thrived in obscurity but was nearly ruined by success. There is something endearing about any writer who, having won the Nobel Prize, could reply to the question, "Do you really think you deserve the award?" by saying, "Frankly, no."

—MARK ABLEY

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1 **Pet Sematary,** *King (1)*
2 **The Name of the Rose,** *Eco (3)*
3 **Poland,** *Michener (2)*
4 **Bluebeard's Egg,** *Atwood (4)*
5 **The Wicked Day,** *Stewart (5)*
6 **A Time For Judas,** *Callaghan (6)*
7 **Berlin Game,** *Deighton (7)*
8 **The Danger,** *Francis (9)*
9 **Robots of Dawn,** *Asimov*
10 **The Little Drummer Girl,** *le Carré (10)*

() Position last week

Nonfiction

1 **The Game,** *Dryden (1)*
2 **In Search of Excellence,** *Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)*
3 **You Can't Print That!,** *Lynch (3)*
4 **Intrepid's Last Case,** *Stevenson (8)*
5 **Contenders,** *Martin Gregg and Perlin (4)*
6 **The Money Spinners,** *McQueen (6)*
7 **Other People's Money,** *Foster (7)*
8 **Debrett's Illustrated Guide to the Canadian Establishment,** *Newman (5)*
9 **Look Ma—No Hands,** *Fotheringham (9)*
10 **Get Smart: Make Your Money Count,** *MacInnis*



The grotesque face of evil

MYSTERIES OF WINTERTHURN
By Joyce Carol Oates
(Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 482 pages $23.50)

In Joyce Carol Oates's previous efforts at mimicking 19th-century fictional forms, the question the reader had to ask was whether Oates had truly taken possession of the genre or has been possessed by it. *Bellefleur* (1980) and *A Bloodsmoor Romance* (1982) sprawled in looped and twisted excesses of language and plot, as if the virus of Gothic romance had infected an already fevered imagination. That her third such attempt, *Mysteries of Winterthurn*, should be greeted with trepidation is not surprising, crammed as it is with demons, star-struck lovers, macabre landscapes and heinous crimes. But in the detective story Oates has at last found a 19th-century form in which she can thoroughly entertain her reader. The pose of objectivity she must adopt to properly portray her hero, Xavier Kilgarvan, is an effective leash on florid narrative. Her mock objectivity is also a never-ending font of pleasing irony, because the true mysteries of Winterthurn are the kind that can never be solved by rational thought.

The novel masquerades as three separate detecting episodes in Kilgarvan's famous career, which Oates as the fictional editor has compiled with an eye to "historical accuracy" under the titles *The Virgin in the Rose-Bower*, *Devil's Half-Acre* and *The Bloodstained Bridal Gown*. Each has its own integrity as a story and its own crime: first a rash of vampire-like cannibalizations, then a series of Jack the Ripper attacks on young working women, and finally a gruesome multiple axe murder. The grotesqueries are spaced at 12-year intervals like some biblical plague on the town of Winterthurn—and on the life of Kilgarvan, who is not a fixed entity like most detective heroes but is drastically changed by each dive into mystery. In the first tale the 16-year-old Kilgarvan solves the crime but discovers both evil—buried deep within his own family—and love, for his cousin, Perdita. In the second, his efforts to catch the culprit tear his family and his love apart—leaving him stranded at 28 on the lonely island of his own detective skill.

Oates serves warning about the kind of quest she has set for Kilgarvan in the first "editor's note." She writes: "Our ancestors, though oft appearing less informed than ourselves, were perhaps far more sensitive—nay, altogether more astute, in comprehending Evil." Kilgarvan sees evil clearly but for a long time he mistakes its source, placing it solely into the hands of the powerful men and the static social order of Winterthurn. He thinks that evil is only injustice, which can be pragmatically redressed—until his last case.

In it, as in the others, he tracks the obvious villain, the one with the motive and the power to evade punishment. But Perdita has the real clue, which she told him long ago: "Angels *may* turn demon, with the passage of time—if starved of the love that is their sustenance . . ." Kilgarvan finds evil at the very heart of his love, a deprivation that turns into a destructive power. But the word "evil" is out of use, old-fashioned, a Ronald Reaganism: people nowadays are not considered "evil" but victims of circumstance. Joyce Carol Oates resurrects an old form so that she can unabashedly resurrect the word and apply it to the destructive mysteries of the human psyche.

—ANNE COLLINS



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RADIO

Strangers in the night

It was the sort of mistake over which detractors of modern music love to gloat. As the CBC was midway through broadcasting a dirgelike new wave tune, producer Alan Conter suddenly smacked his forehead and said with a groan, "We're playing a 45-r.p.m. record on 33." But neither Augusta LaPaix, hostess of CBC FM's all-night radio program, *Brave New Waves*, nor its coast-to-coast audience protested. With a mandate to go boldly where no program has gone before, *Brave New Waves* is certain to make occasional mistakes. And already, since it first filled the airwaves from midnight to 6 a.m. on Feb. 6, it has broadcast some startlingly innovative material—an avant garde mixture of conversation, poetry readings and an eclectic selection of music from all ages. Still, the show's primary programming commitment to bring new wave music to the traditionally highbrow network will probably strike some regular CBC listeners as unsafe at *any* speed.

The Montreal-based program represents a daring bid to woo an entirely new group of listeners to the network. Coincidentally, *Brave New Waves*' debut came on the heels of an internal CBC report that warned of a "major audience crisis" if the CBC did not plan more programming for people under 35. More importantly, it answered CBC President Pierre Juneau's demand for 24-hour radio at the lowest possible price. The CBC is allocating the show a modest annual budget—roughly $200,000 (including salaries for its five-person staff) plus $150,000 annual technical costs. Admitted one embarrassed CBC executive: "Overall expenses are about as low as you can go to get the thing on the air."

Still, the Brave New Five are confident that they have the magic necessary to build a faithful following of students and shift workers, nighthawks and nursing mothers. All staff members are under 35 years of age and all regard the show as their big chance to test their creativity, especially the pair who originally proposed the show—Conter, 29, and LaPaix, 31. According to LaPaix, they both insisted that "the show should play music and feature people no one else is presenting." Last week's lineup featured the brassy sounds of Dub Riffes, a ska-reggae band from Winnipeg, and a wide-ranging trialogue with the Montreal *Gazette*'s caricaturist Terry Mosher (Aislin), writer/poet Mark Ablay and gospel singer Michelle Sweeney, touching on nuclear war and the problems of growing up in Cleveland (Sweeney's birthplace). Declared CBC Radio's Quebec director, Ron Laplante: "The staff are all crazy as loons. They will find something to catch the fancy of everyone."

Currently, *Brave New Waves* is in the enviable position of being the object of a great deal of curiosity and little pressure. The CBC will likely wait a year before assessing the show's popular and critical success. By that time, CBC AM will likely launch a 24-hour service. For her part, LaPaix is optimistic about her program's future. She declared, "This is what public radio should be about—trying ideas that private radio could not, and would not, ever touch." And in venturing into uncharted territory, the staid CBC may find itself on a stronger wavelength with the young.

—ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

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Spying on the intimacy of friendship



Huppert and Miou-Miou: out of a war-torn landscape, an erotic and lasting relationship

ENTRE NOUS
Directed by Diane Kurys

Diane Kurys's *Entre Nous* is a delicate exploration of the needs that two women, Lena (Isabelle Huppert) and Madeleine (Miou-Miou), share and fulfil in each other. The rituals of female friendship seldom have been rendered with such loving—and accurate—detail: whispered secrets, knowing looks exchanged across the dinner table, conversations in the sanctuary of the ladies' rooms. Enmeshed in the dynamics of friendship and its nuances, some men may feel as though they are actually voyeurs. The film admits viewers to a private world in which they can fix upon both the intensity and the subtlety of emotion between two friends.

Entre Nous has an assured, often masterly style, and the richness of its characters sweeps the audience along with them. But, almost shockingly, the early scenes of exposition are clumsily, obviously dramatic. In establishing the backgrounds of the two women before they become friends, the film is fractured, moving back and forth across the landscape of occupied France during the Second World War without connecting the two narratives. Lena marries Michel (Guy Marchand), a foreign legionnaire who helps her escape from a detention camp through the technicality of matrimony. They flee to Italy and decide to stay married; Lena never forgives herself—or Michel—for not having fallen in love. A German soldier kills Madeleine's childhood sweetheart, and, embittered, she marries an unemployed actor, Coste (Jean-Pierre Bacri), who trades ineptly in the black market. When Lena and Madeleine first meet, in Lyons in the 1950s, neither feels satisfied with her lot, sexually or emotionally.

Kurys loves her heroines but she cuts the two husbands somewhat gratuitously from the same cloth: each is insensitive, sexually inattentive if not inadequate, and neither man has a sense of humor. Still, Kurys is not without compassion for them, especially Michel, the proud breadwinner who saves all his joy and caring for their two daughters, leaving Lena to fend for herself emotionally. By squaring off two equally interesting men against its two heroines, *Entre Nous* would have had greater depth. However, the sad tangles of marriage remain. And they are wrenching, particularly in the sterlingly vicious fights between the hot-headed Michel and the impassive Lena.

But besides looking at two stale, ultimately crippling unions, *Entre Nous* concerns itself with the odd, ironic directions that friendship often takes. Both women dreamed of opening a dress shop in Lyons together and they travel to Paris to make plans. Madeleine decides to leave Costa, but Lena cannot desert Michel, and Madeleine wastes away in Paris by herself. As the reticent Lena becomes more self-confident and independent, Madeleine loses her footing and eventually has a nervous breakdown. Later, when Michel builds Lena a dress shop and then destroys it in a fit of sexual rage over Madeleine's return, Lena finally abandons him. It is in that section of the film that Kurys captures the extreme sensitivity that arises from the intimacy of close friendship. Her greatest gift is to make the audience care deeply about what happens to her characters.

Throughout *Entre Nous* it is clear that the two women have an erotic bond between them. An autobiographical postscript, in which the audience learns that Kurys herself was Lena's and Michel's youngest daughter, also tells that the women lived together for years afterward. But the film is vague about the two women's shared sexual experience. Perhaps Kurys wanted to be subtle or she may have feared that overt sexuality would cloud the issue of friendship and commitment. But the ambiguity is more irritating than thought-provoking.

The flaws, and there are many in *Entre Nous*, do not, ultimately, detract from the film's impact, particularly its shattering ending. Kurys manages to balance scenes of lightheartedness and pain with magical agility, and her quartet of actors responds resiliently to her quicksilver switches of tone. *Entre Nous* struggles bravely, usually successfully, with its themes. While Kurys's growing pains as an artist are evident, they also leave an indelible impression. —LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

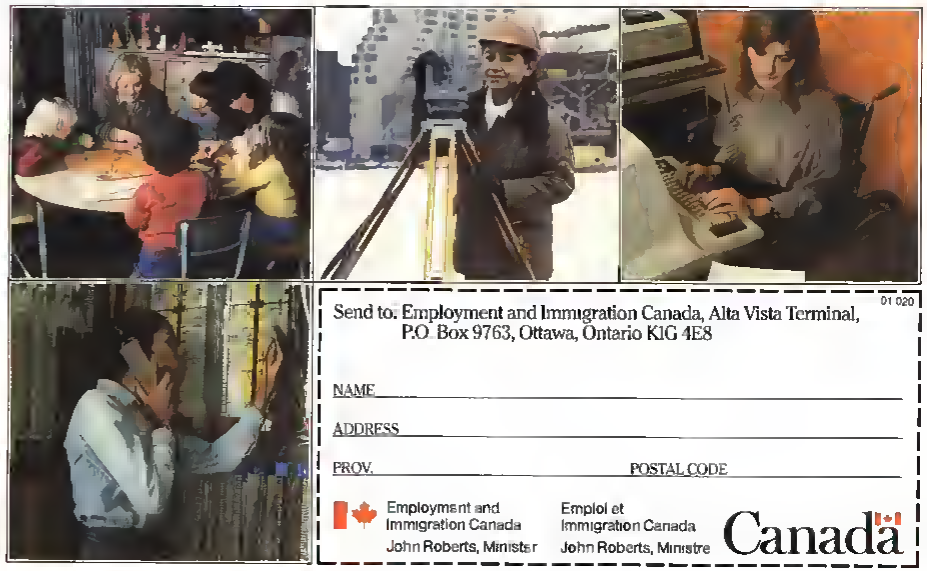
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COLUMN

The best political game in town



By Allan Fotheringham

Peter Worthington wears a huge tattoo on his left forearm, fought in the Korean War and holidays by riding the backs of large sea turtles off the coast of Peru. He is a millionaire who still writes a newspaper column, plays softball and has eyes that burn with the intensity of the lighted end of a cigarette. He is also the latest addition to the inheritence of Brian Mulroney, who must be wondering just what he is in charge of as he moves tentetively toward the coming election. Worthington will be one of his candidates, thus confirming that it is the Regressive Convertible party that has become the interesting one in recent weeks, with the Liberals looking more and more like a group of tired chiropractors.

Worthington, against all the odds, has snatched the Tory nomination for Toronto's Broadview-Greenwood from the highly intelligent and attractive wife of a cabinet minister in Premier Bill Davis's government. Nancy Elgie, whose husband is Consumer Relations Minister Bob Elgie, was perfect for what Mulroney wants in reshaping the face of a resolutely male party: a woman, articulate, a beacon for the urban female vote, someone well accustomed to and well disciplined in the Conservative way of doing things. Instead, Mulroney has a loose cannon on his deck in Worthington, who always has been a maverick and, because he has a million dollars' worth of stock in *The Toronto Sun*, which he helped to found, doesn't give a damn for anybody or anything and will be a complete puzzle to the Tory caucus if he defeats, as expected, the NDP's Lynn McDonald, who shakily holds the seat at the moment.

The Tories are full of ferment and torment as Mulroney attempts to vault some of his favored and high-profile allies into safe nominations, and, on the other hand, unfathomable characters such as Worthington home in on nominations that would seem a cinch passage to Ottawa. Everyone is dancing about, trying to figure out where the mop-topped Ken Taylor, the hero of Tehran, might alight in his toying with a Tory political career. Ottawa has offered him the ambassador's job in Rome, but Taylor waits and ponders. The US ambassador in Ottawa, Paul Robinson, throws a glitzy dinner dance for him in Rockcliffe, and David Rockefeller hosts yet another farewell dinner in Manhatten. All this attention and Brian Mulroney too? The Tories covet Taylor and yet fear his ambition. This is a party of contented back-bench losers over the decades, and naked ambition makes them nervous.



ROY PETERSON

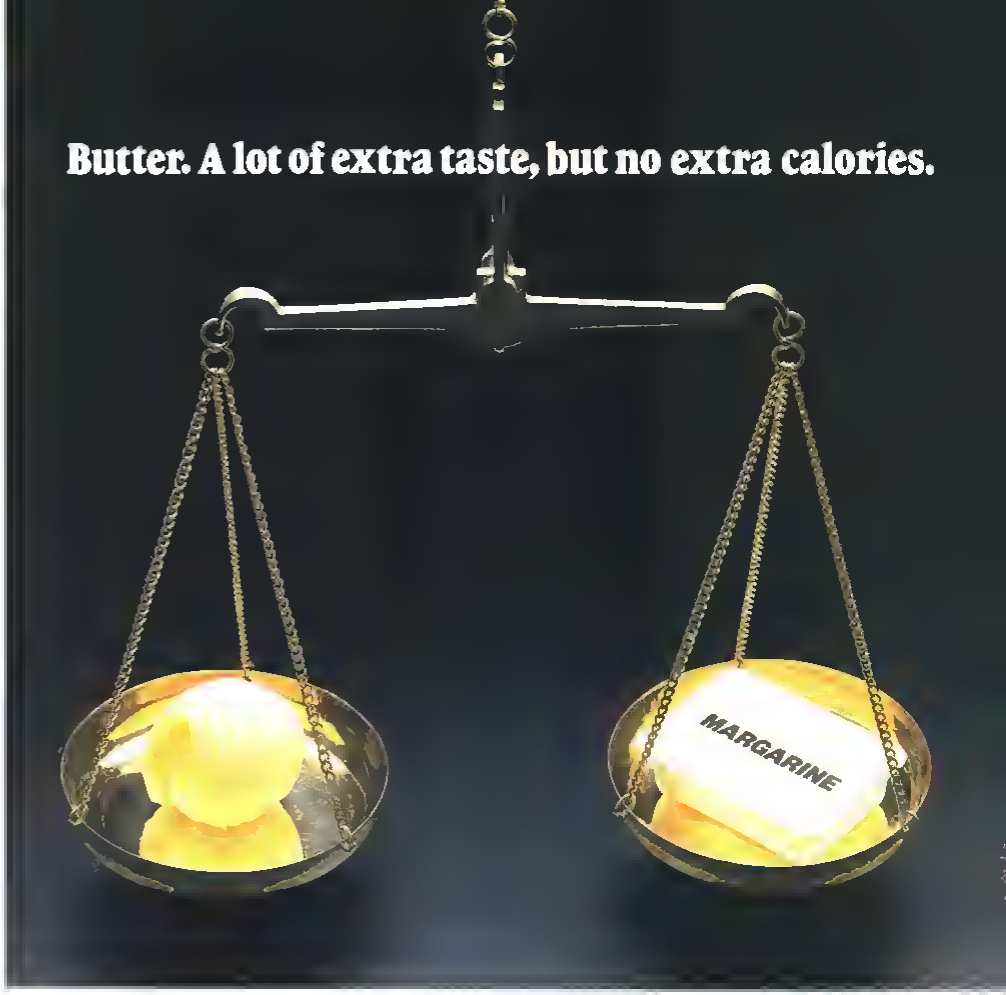
We have now, a year late, the sketchy details of how a daredevil tycoon ships, from the mountains of Europe, huge hunks of cash that helped to overthrow Joe Clark. Dalton Camp, who had sat on his secret since January of 1983, when he discovered it among the smoke and mirrors of Winnipeg, confirms that one Walter Wolf supplied the "offshore" money that helped to shred poor Joe. Wolf, who used to finance a Formula One racing car and was glorified in our magazines for it, didn't like Joe's Jerusalem Embassy gaffe since it mucked up Wolf's relations with his Arab business compatriots, and so he thought it a swell thing to launder some money through some well-placed Tories who knew where it would do the most good in carving up Joe. Now, *this* is getting back to the old Tory scenarios we know and love. Mulroney doesn't want to talk about it, and, since Wolf is a Canadian—though he hardly sets foot here anymore—it is all good, clean fun.

There is the silver-haired and silver-tongued Finlay MacDonald, the sage of Halifax, who is in charge of Mulroney's transition team—the Tories so full of chutzpah that they are planning the shift to government before the voters have yet given their decision. Finlay, who is awaiting yet again his ordained call to the Senate, has recently endured a hernia operation, a condition brought about, so the story goes, because he attempted to read the Kissinger memoirs. There is the whisper that Ron Collister, the man who used to sing the news on the CBC, is about to come out from his exile on an Edmonton open-mouth show. Collister once tried to convert his television profile into a Conservative victory in a Toronto riding during the Bob Standstill days, and missed. Another attempt, with Mr. Mellowrooney cruising atop the Gallup poll like a boy on a new motorcycle, might be propitious.

There is the case of the St. Paul's seat in Toronto, where Employment Minister John Roberts, The Man Who Came to Dinner, views the approaching electorate with trepidation. It is being worked heavily and enthusiastically by one Barbara McDougall, a dimpled business consultant and guru who has masterminded David Crombie's big wins in Rosedale. She wants the Tory nomination, since Roberts seems so easily beatable. There is also the lurking presence of Roy McMurtry, the sleepy-eyed attorney general of all Ontario who is part of Mulroney's Irish Mafia and would add great clout to a Mulroney cabinet. The only problem is that he can't be seen to be stroking St. Paul's, leaving Bill Davis feeling jilted, until we actually get an election call. And the Big Blue Machine regulars feel he could ambush McDougall, despite all her early slogging, because she does not have a proven entré to the Jewish community, which is so vitel in the riding. So where do we find McDougall these days? Off on a trip to Israel, which is the accepted route to the St. Paul's ballot box.

With Worthington and his tattoo, gnomes of Zurich, Ken Taylor, Collister and friends, sounds like the old zoo is getting back to normal.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southam News.



Lemon Parsley Butter
Always keep a little on hand

½ cup (125 mL) soft butter
2 tbsp (25 mL) lemon juice
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Salt

Cream butter, beat in lemon juice, parsley and salt to taste. Let stand 1 hour to blend flavours. Use to perk up the flavour of vegetables or fish. Makes about ¾ cup (175 mL).

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